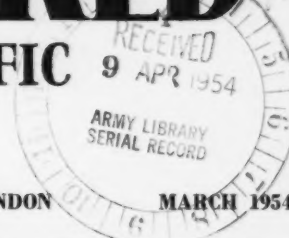


EASTERN WORLD

S.E.ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC



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Number 3



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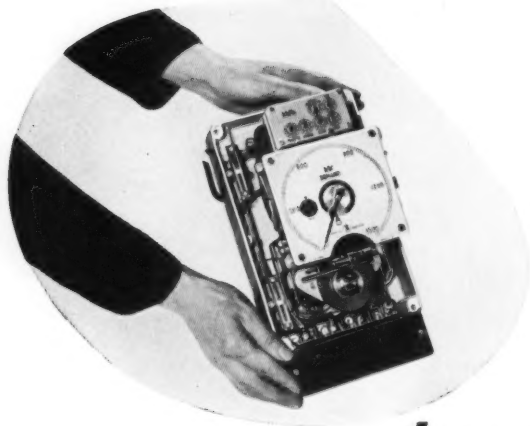
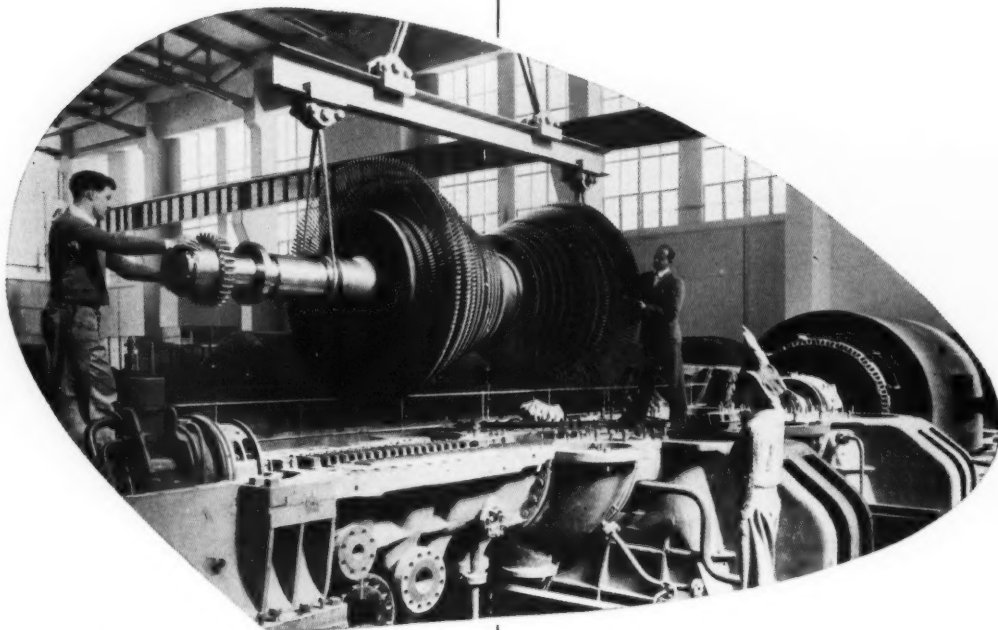
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	7
Westminster and the East	Harold Davies, M.P. 8
Asia in Washington	David C. Williams 9
The Other East-West Conflict	Hellmuth Hecker 10
Religion in Modern India	Ajit Guin 12
India's Left-Wing Parties	G. S. Bhargava 14
Groupings in Fiji Indian Society	Adrian C. Mayer 16
Higher Education in Malaya	Paul S. Markandan 17
"Evolution by Heaven"	Lewis Gen 19
Rearmament in Japan	Tokyo Correspondent 21
Scandinavia and Asia	Paula Wiking 23
Sweden's Technical Assistance to Asia	Sixten Heppling 25
LONDON NOTEBOOK	27
FROM ALL QUARTERS	30
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	32
The Royal Tour of Ceylon	K. G. Navaratne 38
Asian Diplomats in London—Sunichi Matsumoto	40
ECONOMIC SECTION	
Life and Labour in Post-war Japan	Kazuo Okochi 42
Plant Protection in 1953	George Ordish 44
Denmark's Trade with Asia and the Pacific	46
Norway's Trade with Asia and the Pacific	46
Sweden's Trade with Asia and the Pacific	46
Sweden's Trade with India	Per Wijkman 47
Finland's Trade with Asia in 1953	Aimo Paloluoma 48
Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Financial Report	52

COVER PICTURE SHOWS:

Boat Dwellers, Hong Kong (a BOAC picture)

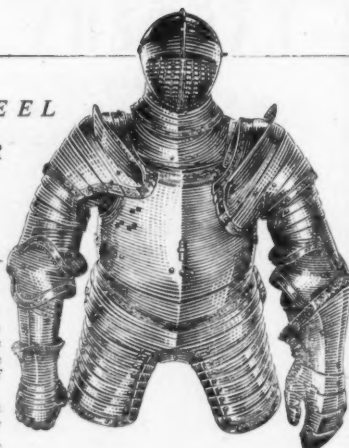
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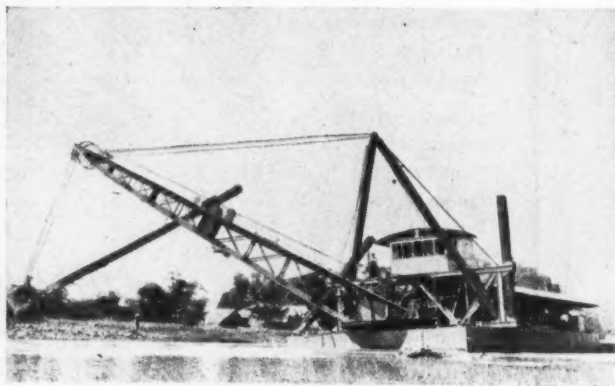
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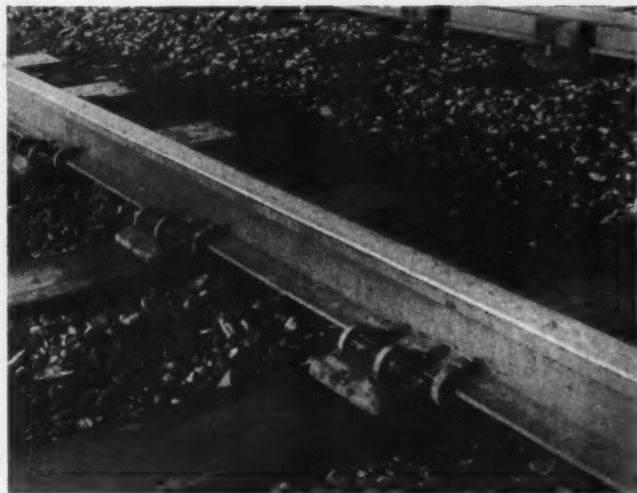


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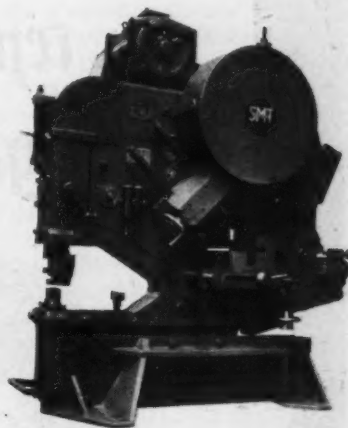
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THE CHINESE IN MALAYA

MALAYA'S future political status is now under active review, and the next step towards self-government has been indicated in the Report submitted by the Government Committee on elections to the federal Legislative Council. The report suggests a very moderate advance for the time being, advocating elections of only 50 per cent of the council, while the Speaker and *ex officio* members would be added to the appointed members, thus ensuring a majority against the elected representatives. While these proposals were favoured by 29 members of the committee, a minority of 13 members recommended a Legislative Council with an elected majority.

While the continued state of emergency in Malaya may be one of the reasons for the extreme caution with which self-government is being introduced, it also reflects the unhappy political situation characterised by the triangular conflict of interests between British, Malays and Chinese. Britain cannot afford yet to walk out of Malaya where she owns two million planted acres of rubber, 75 per cent of the tin mines and 95 per cent of big business. Nor can she hand over government to the Malays alone, as a consistently pro-Malay policy during the past 20 years has encouraged a Malay nationalism which, although admittedly still unequipped to run the country unaided, is urging complete independence at a time when Britain is not yet prepared to withdraw. Further, despite the recognised need for a "Malayan" nation comprising all the various racial groups of the country, little has been done to satisfy the demands of the Chinese. Only half-hearted measures have been taken to encourage the growth of a genuine Malayan feeling, and the killing of the 1945 and 1946 Malayan Union scheme, which embodies the principle of racial equality, has led the Chinese in Malaya to accuse Britain of carrying out a policy of "divide and rule" in the country. The Federation of Malaya Agreement of February 1st, 1948, does, in fact, recognise Malaya as primarily belonging to the Malays, and despite assurances to the contrary, it appears that the colonial administration has so far been unable to satisfy the Chinese demands. Whether one supports the Chinese point of view or not, the basic fact remains that there will be no settlement possible in Malaya before their claims have not been studied carefully and before full and satisfactory rights and opportunities are not accorded to them. The Chinese claim that recent instances of discriminative legislative action have aimed at reducing the number of Chinese in the Federation. They quote the terms of the 1948 Federation of Malaya Agreement, according to which

the pre-war status as British-protected persons of most of the Chinese born in the Malay States was rescinded, thereby depriving some one million out of 1,750,000 Chinese resident in the Malay States of their rights as natural-born automatic federal citizens under the rule of *jus soli*. They protest against the Immigration Control Ordinance of 1952 by which Chinese born in the Malay States, and rendered stateless by the above mentioned steps, are not allowed to return to Malaya after a short fixed absence abroad on any grounds without the permission of the Immigration authorities whose decision is final. Many of the stateless Chinese cannot qualify for the federal citizenship owing to their lack of knowledge of English or Malay, as required by law. Considering that Chinese is one of the "big five" languages of the United Nations it seems unfair to deny anyone full citizen rights or the return to the country of his birth or residence merely because he cannot speak another language but his mother tongue. Similarly, the threat to close down Chinese vernacular schools, and other measures aiming either directly or indirectly against the interests of the Chinese community of Malaya, tend to do enormous harm to any plans seeking to establish a homogenous Malayan nation which, after gradual stages, could take over government without civil unrest and bloodshed. That this can be done has been proved in Canada, Switzerland, India, and many other places where peoples of different races and religions can melt into a symbiosis of nationhood. That the Communist rebels in the jungle are almost entirely made up of Chinese cannot surely be held against the law-abiding Chinese in Malaya any more than the South Koreans can be blamed for the Communist North Koreans, or the Vietnamese for the Viet Minh. If the scales of justice were held impartially by Britain, both the Chinese and the Malays would become grateful to her and the undoubted recruitment of dissatisfied Chinese to the guerrillas would almost certainly cease.

There are, amongst the Chinese and Malay population, mature and dependable forces which, if properly supported, could do wonders in consolidating and improving the political situation in the Federation. The alliance of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) has so far been the only sign of mature political progress towards the moulding of a Malayan national conception. It is deplorable that, by refusing to recognise the inevitable rôle the Chinese are destined to play in Malaya, British policy is gradually forcing these potential allies into opposition.

Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan, President of the MCA, is expected to visit London next month together with a representative of UMNO. The distinguished Chinese Malayan leader is likely to put his case before the British Government and other influential circles, and if due attention is paid to his advice, it may not be too late to repair past blunders and to preserve the economic and military advances which have undoubtedly been made in Malaya by improving the political conditions.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

THE Prime Minister told us that he considered the Berlin Conference a very remarkable conference. "It has restored the reputation of such meetings after some very unfortunate examples." The Churchillian approach was that the conference had established contacts anew at various levels between important men. It almost appeared that the Premier was not so sure that we should have given way on the question of German rearmament. He wanted more trade between Great Britain and the Soviet Union because this friendly infiltration could do nothing but good. He hoped that the forthcoming conference at Geneva would open the road to trade with China. In fact, the whole tone of this speech was different from that of the majority of the Conservative back-benchers. Wistfully, Sir Winston harped back to his speech of last May wherein he had suggested a meeting of the heads of States and Governments. The issue of arms for Germany now cuts across all party lines and loyalties. Only by the merest majority were the surprised Labour Leaders able, in a private meeting, to get through a resolution that Germany be asked to contribute to the European Defence Community. Suddenly the slow tempo of Westminster was altered and the issues of Asia and Europe could no longer be kept in water-tight compartments. It could be seen from Berlin that it was all one world.

Shall we have a repetition at Geneva of the Berlin episodes? If Syngman Rhee is bolstered up and encouraged then some of us here at Westminster see little hope of a success at Geneva, but Mr. Dulles at least moved from the old American intransigent attitude when he agreed to confer with the representatives of Peking. In its official policy the Labour Party presses for the recognition of the New China at the United Nations, and continuously Labour M.P.s urge the Government to recognise that China must ultimately become a partner in the United Nations. If America persists in holding out against this, can the Geneva conference succeed? Some of us here believe that America might easily suggest that a settlement in Indo-China and also in Korea might be followed by China taking her rightful place in the United Nations.

Mr. Harold Wilson said: "We have the Geneva Conference to be held in April, one of the constructive results of the Berlin Conference. Are we to hope that the West and the East will approach that conference with a constructive attitude, hoping to solve problems, or are there to be as many sacred cows at Geneva as there were at Berlin? What is to be done about the recognition of China?" Mr. Wilson told the House how he was disturbed by the official pronouncement of policy made by Mr. Robertson, the Assistant

Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, at a Congressional Committee in Washington. He quoted Robertson as saying that there is to be kept alive a constant threat of military action *vis-à-vis* Red China in the hope that at some point there will be an internal breakdown. It was to be a constant threat of cold war waged under the leadership of the United States. Here in Britain we look upon this as exactly the same will-o'-the-wisp that was followed for a generation against Russia.

Some time this month a number of Labour M.P.s hope to go over to Paris to visit different Members of the French Assembly in order that they might get a better assessment of the French attitude to the problem of Indo-China. None of these visits are on an official basis, but some Labour M.P.s feel that there is a need to try to understand more fully the whole French attitude to the Indo-Chinese situation. As far as we can gather here, France will press for the question of Indo-China to be given priority at the Geneva talks and she will expect backing from Britain. It can thus be seen that the maximum statesmanship will be needed on all sides if the Geneva Conference is to be a success.

The President of the Board of Trade informed Mr. Grimond (Liberal) that Australia had decided to liberalise her trade by relaxing some of her import restrictions. The President believed that exporters from this country would benefit considerably. But this depends upon the competitive character of British export industries. While repeating the hopes of the Prime Minister that there would be a freer movement of goods in East-West trade, Mr. Thorneycroft (President of the Board of Trade) said that a substantial relaxation affecting manufactured goods, raw materials and shipping was in view. More Conservative M.P.s are pressing now for all legitimate extensions of trade with Russia and Asia and repeatedly from both sides of the House comes the request for relaxation of restrictions. Official advisers are to be present at the Geneva Conference to deal with details of East-West trade. Here America will be faced again with the difficulties that confront Western European countries as a result of trade restrictions. Sir Walter Fletcher (Conservative) during the debate on the industrial situation believed that the enormous areas of Russia and China, while they are in the end capable of taking large quantities of goods and will be a big plus in the world's economy, are not going to be so within a measurable distance of time. Sir Walter said that in China "someone is chalking up on the blackboard the pluses and the minuses and not allowing the purchases to exceed the exports to any great extent. That is likely to continue."

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

THE Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin has aroused scarcely a flicker of interest in the American public. Instead, popular attention has been concentrated upon the prisoner-of-war drama in Korea, which has recently ended with a flurry of newspaper and magazine stories demonstrating that the twenty-one Americans who elected to remain with the Communists were victims of sub-normal intelligence or a faulty home background.

This is but one of the many illustrations of the degree to which Asia has moved to the foreground of American attention, and Europe has receded into the background. Another example is the attention given to Asian events in the "comic strips"—sequences of crude drawings telling a simple story (originally funny, but no longer typically so) which appear in nearly all newspapers and are read by millions of Americans, adults as well as children, who don't read anything else.

In one Sunday's batch of Washington newspapers, for instance, one finds "Steve Canyon" winging his way from Indonesia to an unnamed point on the borders of Communist China. He is an American agent who has infiltrated the "Indasian" air line to see whether it is a channel for the Reds to market heroin and other drugs. "Terry," of "Terry and the Pirates," is seeking to smuggle some Americans into Kowloon and safety, but has burst out of a safe hiding place to rescue an elderly American who was being paraded by the Reds to execution.

One looks in vain for any "comic strips" purporting to deal with contemporary events in Europe. The average American finds the issues dominating European politics too complex to understand. The endless debates over the European Defence Community have long since bored him to the point of total lack of interest. Even Sir Winston Churchill has largely lost the ability to command American attention, and Britain itself is more and more regarded as a part of a Europe which in turn is fading from the public mind.

In Asia, however, both conservatives and progressives find heroes and causes which can command their interest and support. Dr. Adenauer is too much a man of peace to compete with Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee in the contest for the honour (the supreme one in many American eyes) of being the bitterest and most determined fighter against Communism. For those who fear that the march of events is leaving these elderly figures behind, President Magsaysay of the Philippine Republic provides the sort of hero whose future is ahead of him rather than behind him.

For progressive Americans, no country now equals India as a centre of interest, and no public figure holds the fascination of Prime Minister Nehru. Americans of this

sort looked for a "new" Europe to be born out of the holocaust of World War II, and have been disappointed at its failure to emerge—a failure for which, to a large extent, they blame Europe's socialist parties. With the exception of the late Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin, the leaders of post-war European socialism have been too colourless or too incompletely committed to the battle against Communism to attract admiration and respect.

If the "new" Europe has failed to emerge, if the "new" China is not to America's liking, there remains ample scope for America's idealism and missionary zeal in the concept of a "new" India. The appearance of Ambassador Chester Bowles' account of his mission to India is only one example of the interest being taken in India's Five-Year Plan, in its village improvement programme, its giant hydro-electric developments.

Americans think they have something to offer India in the way of "know-how" as well as of economic aid. They tend to resent what they regard as the excessive British influence still lingering in India. Rightly or wrongly, they maintain that the British civil service tradition which they see still prevailing in India lays more emphasis upon tidy administration than upon getting things done. British-style education they find too academic and too little directed towards getting people into the villages with the ability to help the peasants with their daily problems and the willingness to work with their own hands in the process.

Many Americans, in fact, are acquiring the same sense of "mission" towards India as they once had towards China. Such Americans are both fascinated and worried by Prime Minister Nehru. They feel somehow that he fails to recognise what they regard as the purity of American intentions. They resent the fact that he refuses to take part in the cold war against Communism. Yet at the same time they recognise his commanding stature as a statesman and a popular leader—an important matter to Americans, who like their own leaders (and the leaders of other nations) to be recognisably "great" figures.

Among American conservatives, however, irritation with Prime Minister Nehru has resulted in threats to base United States policy upon Pakistan. This has caused great alarm to American liberals. One of them has even written up a Congressional investigation of 1956, in which Dulles is accused of turning India over to the Communists in the same way that Marshall has been charged with betraying Chiang Kai-shek. But, so long as the cold war continues to dominate American thinking, and so long as the rôle of Prime Minister Nehru in it appears to many Americans to be equivocal, it will be difficult to resist the pressure for bases in Pakistan.

THE OTHER EAST-WEST CONFLICT

By Hellmuth Hecker (Hamburg)

THE inescapable impression to be gained from press and radio, speeches, articles and political pronouncements in Europe, America and Russia is that there exists only one problem in the world and for the world: the conflict between the communist countries under the leadership of Soviet Russia and the capitalist countries under the leadership of America—a conflict in which each party claims to be on the side of peace and freedom, democracy and prosperity.

An unbiased study of that so-called undeniable assertion, however, reveals the fact that the ideologies prevailing in the two camps are not really as contradictory as they may appear at first glance.

Ever since the Renaissance the peoples of the Western hemisphere have increasingly concerned themselves with worldly things, concentrating their efforts more and more on purely material gain, on money and possessions, power and influence. The development of the technical sciences as well as the birth of colonial imperialism are significant instances of that trend. Spiritual motives and religious standards have gradually lost their importance for the everyday life of the individual, while possessions, self-indulgence and entertainment have taken pride of place in the accepted scale of values. In view of that fact it was perhaps hardly an exaggeration for a recent critic to say that there was no longer anything that could be called the Christian West: there were only a few Western Christians.

The communist world, on the other hand, has raised Western practical materialism to the status of a philosophy and, following it to its logical conclusion, refuses to recognise anything but the mortal body and the predominance of matter over spirit. Communist materialism was born in the West and is merely the most extreme form of Western materialism. Thus we see materialism on every hand—the difference is in degree only. On the one side, the stress is on the collective rather than the individual and personal initiative is being suppressed: on the other, ruthlessness and the exploitation of the economically weaker classes are

dominant. But these are only two sides of the same coin. The USA and the Soviet Union are two quarrelling sons of one father—materialism. A preference for one side or the other, therefore, is merely a preference for one form of materialism or the other, and no genuine choice between two alternatives is involved.

The real problem lies in the conflict between these two kinds of materialism and the more introspective, less noisy and more human behaviour, which might be called religious. That conflict is of far vaster dimensions than the superficial economic and political quarrel between Russia and America, between Eastern European materialism and Western European materialism, and its front lines run right across every continent, every nation and even every individual. It is the battle between the two souls in man's breast, to which Doctor Faustus bore witness. There have been periods in every epoch when either the one or the other was in the ascendant. But throughout history in general Asia has been the home of spiritual and religious attainment. *Ex oriente lux*. . . . And all the more highly developed religions have come from the East. To call bolshevism "Eastern" or "Asiatic" is to show a profound ignorance of the real East.

The West generally has very little real knowledge of the cultures of the East. Neither the existing literature about India and China, nor the intellectual discussions about Vedanta and Taoism have done much to dispel European ignorance of the East. The general attitude towards Asians—a mixture of fear and a sense of superiority—is proof of that. The term "Asia" is usually coupled in the imagination with backwardness, ignorance and squalor, or with pictures of wild nomads, Huns, Mongols and Turks, against whom in centuries past Europe has been gloriously defended. There is also fear of the numerical superiority of Asians and their "mystery." By materialistic standards it is thought that one day Asia might take revenge for the injustices done to her. If the law of "an eye for an eye" were the only one, that fear would indeed be amply justified.

Colonial imperialism is the outward symptom of that superior attitude towards Asia. It is responsible for Asia's painful history, so deeply stirring to anyone who takes the trouble to study it. Europe has caused Asia unspeakable suffering, and it is shameful and bitter to have to admit that Western influence has meant practically nothing to Asia but misfortune, misery, exploitation, poison and oppression. While Christian missionaries were preaching peace and statesmen were boasting about the blessings of civilisation, Asia was being stripped naked more ruthlessly than any Jenghiz Khan could ever have done it. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Asia has a deep-rooted suspicion of Europe.

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What, then, can be done to lessen suspicion and hostility and to create friendship between East and West? The fact that neither India nor China are, or by their very nature ever could be, imperialistically inclined is a very positive factor in that relationship. But the first condition to be fulfilled in order to reach agreement is the complete renunciation by Europe of every kind of imperialism, open or disguised. There can be no friendly negotiations so long as there are European troops on Asian soil and so long as the West asserts that, while French resistance to Germany was justified, Indo-Chinese resistance to the French is treasonable. Asia's problem is her fight against colonialism. The mis-named "East-West conflict" between America and the Soviet Union is often and quite understandably incomprehensible to the Asians. Though it is realised that communism was originally the answer to oppression, India is, for instance, cautiously refraining from showing sympathy with communism, because it recognises in the inhuman and materialistic methods of bolshevism the fatal spirit of the West. Nehru's autobiography shows that attitude very clearly.

After centuries of almost unlimited sway, the Western world today faces the unexpected fact that it is forced to surrender one position after another, and in spite of its superiority in money, economic potential and weapons of war, finds itself driven back by materially inferior races.

The first world war caused considerable damage to the prestige of the white races, and their moral credit sunk even lower when they broke their promises to the Arabs and Indians, so that the struggle for freedom in Persia and Turkey achieved success, while others were suppressed with the utmost difficulty.

After the second world war, independence movements were successful almost everywhere: in Syria and the Lebanon, in India and Pakistan, in Burma and Ceylon, in Indonesia and China. Gandhi had awakened the consciousness of the oppressed peoples and shown them the immense power of moral superiority. It was as if a mighty avalanche had suddenly started sweeping down a mountain side and would not be stopped.

Thus European colonial imperialism suffered defeat after defeat, and each time afresh its supporters were surprised and helpless, because there was nothing in their programmes and statistics to show the existence of spiritual forces. Today imperialism in Asia is fighting ineffectively to cover its retreat. It is a significant fact that the supporters of imperialism and "defenders of freedom" in Korea, Formosa, Viet Nam and the Philippines are mostly personalities with a very doubtful background.

The more ruthless the oppression of colonial races, the quicker the decrease in prestige and power of the whites and the more rapid the process of unification of the coloured world. In this way, colonialism achieves the very opposite of the desired effect. Today the Asian-African bloc in the UN is a political reality which even Western politicians

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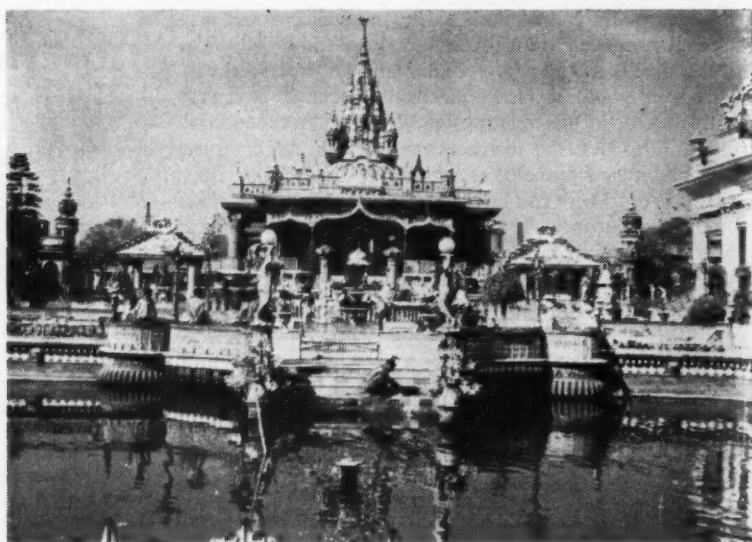
cannot afford to ignore. In that connection mention is often made of a so-called "Third Force," but it is at most a second force, for just as the initials US and SU are merely different combinations of the same letters, so the different policies of America and Russia have their roots in the same soil of materialism. The power of the Asian states is not technical and industrial, but spiritual and ideological: it is a force which already has shown its capacity for lessening the tension in international affairs.

The more Asia becomes united and integrated in its fight against imperialism, the stronger will grow her influence to lower the tensions in the Western world and at the same time to forge ahead in the process of her own rebirth and the spiritual reformation of her ancient religious substance. "Europe interrupts our self-communion," an Indian thinker recently said. Why does Europe interrupt? Because she is so deeply involved in the battle between the two camps of materialism that she prevents any fruitful interchange between the best spiritual traditions of both East and West, of which the Vice-President of India, Radhakrishnan, speaks in his book *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. He says: "Whatever religion they profess, mystics everywhere are brothers in spirit. There is every indication that mysticism will be the religion of the future." In that spiritual community East and West will no longer exist.

RELIGION IN MODERN INDIA

By Ajit Guin (Calcutta)

Hindu Temple in Calcutta (a BOAC picture)



IS the call of religion losing or gaining force in India? Has the impact of economic progress left a favourable or adverse effect on faith? Is the secularism of the Indian constitution dampening spiritual growth in India? How does religion affect the political life of the country?

These are questions being asked by thoughtful persons in India today, especially since the incidents on February 5th last, when hundreds of people were trampled to death during the holy bathing ceremony near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna in Uttar Pradesh. The fact that nearly four million simple village folk rushed to touch the feet of ash-covered sadhus in this ceremony proved that religious faith clings as hard among the unsophisticated village people in India as ever before.

"But is it true of the cities?" some observers ask. With minor exceptions, the answer is that agnosticism, atheism and scepticism are on the increase in big Indian cities, but are confined to the educated classes. The causes advanced for this changeover in religious beliefs are the economic difficulties of the educated unemployed who listen to the communist explanation that religion is nothing but a bourgeois weapon to keep the wide disparity in economic and social status that one finds in India to-day.

The agnostics (and the Indian Rationalist Association in Madras works hard to keep the flame burning among South Indians) and sceptics who remain in the middle of the stream—neither losing faith completely nor finding any usefulness in having a strong faith—are two of the sources from which the Communists draw their disciples.

Indian political leaders and educationists are alarmed at this new trend in religious values among the members of academic groups who sometimes spread their beliefs and scepticism among young students. Many attribute the student unrest and indiscipline in different Indian universities in recent years to the teachers' loss of faith.

The attempts to arrest the spread of anti-religious feel-

ing are taking two courses. One method is through campaigns for religious revivalism. By constant emphasis on the religious heritage and spiritual tradition of India and at the same time contrasting the inconsistencies of western society due to its apparent lack of spiritual values, politicians try to re-establish faith among young Indians.

One newspaper columnist analysed the situation thus: "Judging from evidence of the seven years of Indian independence, organised religion in India has shown an increasing upward trend. It would be incorrect to connect this with the revival of religious faith in the West, where the movement is an obvious reaction against 20th century emphasis on material well-being. In India there has been little occasion for 'reaction' because religion never ceased to occupy a place of eminence in daily life. Its popular and demonstrative appeal originates from a different source.

India's religious revival has an important cultural association. Indian culture, according to a very vocal section of this country's population, is embedded in Hinduism. True nationalism, therefore, is inseparable from a recognition of the merits of this relationship. Because this line of argument necessarily involves respect for past institutions, we see a new love of history, especially its more tangible aspects such as mass religious festivals and ceremony."

Religious instruction in the classrooms is suggested as the second weapon to stem the tide of religious scepticism, agnosticism and atheism in the cities. But the Indian constitution proclaimed India as a secular state and prohibits sectarian religious instruction in public schools. Being a country with at least a dozen organised religions, religious instruction becomes impossible. Hindus oppose Christians for Bible teaching and moralising in classrooms while the Christians and other attack the Hindus for chanting Hindu scriptures in University convocations, necessarily a formal occasion where secular ideals should be strictly adhered to.

This has led to the controversy, perhaps met with more often in western countries than in the East, as to whether the secularism of the Indian Constitution dampens spiritual growth in India. Some influential religious personages and politicians have suggested in recent months that it does.

Speaking in the 16th Annual Conference of the Indian Political Association last December, Prof. Bodh Raj Sharma said that India was wrong in adopting a secularist constitution. He implied that a secular constitution along with the growth of "technocracy" and materialist philosophy is turning India more and more to a country of faithless peoples. However, he was perhaps over simplifying the situation. But religious sects do not necessarily over simplify their case when they complain that western educated politicians criticise the religious practices of devotees. According to them, Mr. Nehru is also guilty of this sin for he constantly stresses the need for scientific advancement but criticises the sadhus (five million of them live in India) whom he called "thieves" in one of his recent speeches, for their begging and living off others.

The religious magazine *Vedanta Kesari* published by the Ramakrishna centre in Madras answered Mr. Nehru in a long editorial: "It is the politician's pleasure to imagine that he alone keeps human life possible on earth. Creative part of the courses of civilisations or the destiny of humanity, however, is not perhaps all determined by mere perorations of politicians in the pulpit. . . . Gandhiji knew this, Shivaji knew this, Asoka knew this, when will O God Pandit Nehru would know this . . . who will assure Pandit Nehru that not-all-knowingness is no vice even for a great

man of his calibre but there are other hungers of men which the politicians cannot assuage? . . . the sadhus, whom, in his rather unbecoming, unwarranted and highly objectionable rashness Pandit Nehru roundly calls 'thieves' were attached to a way of life where begging or depending on others was considered a signal service to society . . . monasticism is not only peculiar to India. Almost all the nations of the world have their monastic orders which depend for their existence and functioning on public charity. Politicians elsewhere do not generally feel themselves called upon to disturb their way of life and pass insulting judgments upon them." This outburst seems to be a consequence of the humiliations being inflicted by westernised Indians on devotees for their conservative religious practices, the wearing of holy cords, bangles, combs and so on.

Apart from this conflict between secularism and organised religion, politics are often bound up with religion, leading in pre-independent India to the partition of the country on a Hindu-Muslim basis. In recent years other than the existing communal parties (the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh, the Jamiat, the All India Christian Conference), new groups are cropping up who find religion to be an excellent shield behind which they can push their political aims.

The militant Dravida Kazagham in the South wants a South Indian state to be entirely separated from North India and they also demand that all South Indians (touchables and untouchables) should become Buddhists. In Travancore-Cochin in the South, the Hindus (two-thirds of the population) complain that the Christians (a minority but educationally and socially more advanced than the Hindus) helped to destroy 150 Hindu temples. The Christians vigorously deny this accusation. The Hindus complain that the Bishops interfere in politics and advise the electorate for whom to vote.

In the Punjab, the Sikh gurdwaras (religious places) have become the centres of the political intrigues of Sikh political parties. A Central committee (known as Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee) controls 780 Sikh gurdwaras. The Nationalist Sikhs and the Akali party led by Master Tara Singh vie with one another to control this committee. Till recently, the Akali group used to control it but they have now been defeated by the Nationalist group on a charge that the Akalis were using the Gurdwara funds and men for the party's own benefit.

In Calcutta, known communists are finding places inside the public puja (worship) committees which are set up before the annual worship of Goddess Durga in October each year.

These are instances which show that religion still remains one of the important vehicles to reach the public. The political opportunists know this and do not hesitate to take advantage of the ignorance of the masses who are not able to distinguish religion from politics and therefore absorb both in a single dose.



An Indian Sadhu (Holy Man), 47-year-old Nirmal Singh Pant, sits in meditation under a tree in New Delhi in an attempt to spiritually influence the President of the United States to announce a pacifist policy for the US. This is Nirmal Singh Pant's fourteenth fast in the cause of world peace

INDIA'S LEFT-WING PARTIES

By G. S. Bhargava (New Delhi)

A PUZZLING feature of Indian politics today is the lack of an organised Opposition. Although so much is heard and so little is seen of it, the Opposition, as it is understood in the West, exists, and yet does not exist, and this is what baffles foreign observers.

There is hardly any party in India—barring perhaps the ruling Congress Party—which satisfies in a strict sense the Disraelian definition of organised political opinion. Yet over a dozen parties, not to mention the purely regional bodies, fought the party in power in the last elections (held in 1952) and are today represented, in varying numbers, in the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies.

There is no King's Opposition, as it is called in Great Britain, in the Indian Parliament because no single party or bloc formed of different smaller groups commands the requisite numerical strength. In fact, only three parties from the Opposition have been given the Speaker's recognition: (1) the Communists and their allies who together constitute the largest single Opposition bloc, (2) the Praja Socialist Party, as the Indian Socialists call themselves, and (3) the National Democratic Party, which is an alliance of all the Right Wing elements, including the communal groups like the Jan Singh and the Hindu Mahasabha.

In the State Assemblies, only in Hyderabad, Andhra and West Bengal are the Communists the recognised opposition, while the Socialists enjoy that position in UP (Uttar Pradesh), Bihar and Vindhya Pradesh.

Thus it is an amorphous mass of opinion, ranging from the former State rulers and landlords divested of their vast estates on the Right to the Communists on the ultra-Left, which is given the respectable appellation of "Opposition" in India.

While this is the position on the parliamentary plane, outside the legislatures the Congress Party has to reckon with almost evenly matched rivals. For instance, the Socialists and the Communists dominate the labour field, though the Government party has its own trade union wing enjoying official patronage. Similarly, articulate and organised peasant activity is controlled by the two Leftist parties, though the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is highly popular and greatly respected in the countryside. This explains the strange phenomenon of the Socialist and the Communist parties, already in the opposition, vying with one another to be the principal Opposition party rather than try to dislodge the Congress Party from office. Replacing the party in power is, they know, a remote possibility.

It is against this background that the recent annual conferences of the Socialist and the Communist parties (held at Allahabad in the North and Madras in the South respectively, in the last week of 1953) have to be viewed. Neither of the two conclaves—incidentally the venues in either case are well-known centres of pilgrimage—was a mere annual get-together of party members for purposes of periodical stocktaking. They were significant events not only for the parties concerned but also in the political history of the country.

The Praja Socialist Party is the product of a merger of two parties, the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (*kisan* means peasant, *mazdoor* worker and *praja* people). For the first time after their amalgamation last year, the members of the two parties met at Allahabad to draw up a balance-sheet of their weaknesses and strength and assess the effects of the merger. The Socialist Party, one of the constituents of the present PSP, sprang into being 20 years ago as a Left Wing of the Congress

Party. Known as the Congress Socialist Party, it was then a small body of Leftist intellectuals devoted to the study of Marxism with a view to providing a corrective to the Congress leadership. Peasant and working class movements were striking roots in the Indian soil at the time, and the Congress Party did not have the ideological space to accommodate them. It was therefore the aim of the Congress Socialists to make the Congress a fit instrument of social democracy, in addition to being a weapon of political freedom. When it failed in its mission, the CSP seceded from the parent body in 1947, partly because the constitution of the Congress Party was then tightened to make it impossible for organised groups to function from within.

The front-rank leader of the Socialists is Jayaprakash Narayan, an American-educated son of a farmer who had not seen a tram car till his twentieth year. At the time of the inception of the CSP, Narayan was a near-Communist and was having many an ideological argument with Mahatma Gandhi. He was then an advocate of the class war theory and pooh-poohed Gandhi's idea of trusteeship, according to which the "haves" were under a moral obligation to do the right thing by the "have-nots." On the question of non-violence, too, the Mahatma and the Congress Socialists were poles apart.

Still, Gandhiji was fascinated by the young and sincere leadership of the CSP and was personally on the best of terms with them. In fact, he cast his "Mahatmatic" spell on Narayan's wife, Prabhavati Devi (a kinswoman of President Rajendra Prasad of the Indian Republic), whom he humorously claimed as his hostage from the Socialist camp. To this day Mrs. Narayan is very scrupulous in her daily prayers and periodical fasts, and spinning at the wheel is a daily routine with her. Now she has also won over her husband, often regarded as Nehru's political heir just as Nehru was to Gandhiji, from dialectical materialism to the Gandhian cult of Sarvodaya (meaning universal well-being), one of the tenets of which is the land gift movement which is currently sweeping across India.

Even in its Marxist infancy, the Congress Socialist Party had some Gandhian leaders, notably the German-trained doctor of political science, Ram Manohar Lohia, who is now the General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party. A typical citizen of India, singularly lacking in provincial affiliations, Dr. Lohia, who is now 44 and unmarried, is an intellectual of the first order.

The other party to the merger, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, is of more recent origin, having found its feet only in 1951. A number of prominent Congressmen left the party that year, primarily on account of internecine group rivalry which ultimately elbowed them out. They were mostly Gandhians, whose main grouse was that the Congress Party in office had deviated from the Gandhian path. Their leader, sexagenarian J. B. Kripalani, a powerful speaker with a salty sense of humour, was a close associate of the Mahatma and later held the important post of presidency of the Congress Party. As general secretary of the Congress, he had earlier proved his mettle as a party builder. Today, Kripalani is one of three national leaders India has (apart from purely local figures), the other two being Nehru and Narayan.

Curiously enough, while in the Congress, Kripalani and the Socialists were bitter enemies, though his wife, who is now a member of Parliament, was often making common cause with the Socialists. With the passage of time, the Socialists were disillusioned by Marxist methods and began to believe in peaceful

progress towards social democracy. Today they also subscribe to some of the fundamental Gandhian principles, such as decentralisation of political and economic power, accent on small-scale industries to obviate dependence on foreign aid for industrialisation of the country, and distribution of land through voluntary gifts of holdings by property owners. Kripalani and his Gandhian associates, too, have realised the bitter truth that power is essential for the implementation of ideas, however lofty. Hence the merger.

The coming together of the two parties was also prompted by the results of the last General Election, in which the multiplicity of contestants had confused the electorate and put the Congress Party back in power on a minority vote. Together the two parties had polled 17 million votes—the Socialists 10 million and the KKMP Party seven million—in the last elections, and their merger provided the first opposite pull to the post-election trend of polarisation of political forces between the Congress Party and the Communists. In the by-elections held during last year, the merged party proved more successful than its rivals on the Right and Left.

The Socialist approach to the problem of development of a backward country like India consists in a total rejection of both the Keynesian and the Marxian techniques involving industrialisation of the economy and mechanisation of agriculture, with transfer of labour from fields to factories as an intermediate process. In either case, the Socialists argue, the consequences are almost identical. When an artificial injection of capital, provided by profit-conscious private enterprise, is given to primitive rural economies, the first flush of exhilaration will be followed by severe prostration, closure of industrial units, financial defaults, unemployment and then a trend towards readjustment on a lower plane of activity. The Marxist formula will be equally disastrous because it will lead not only to the growth of a highly centralised economic and political system but also to the speedy extermination of large sections of the people.

The Socialists oppose any move towards the rationalisation of agriculture because it will entail throwing out of employment a vast number of people who cannot be provided for elsewhere because of lack of capital. They have evolved a new formula according to which land will have to be redistributed among actual cultivators, who will be later sucked into agricultural co-operatives. The fragmentation of holdings that may result from such redistribution of land, the Socialists argue, will be more than offset by the creative energy that the satisfaction of land hunger of the rack-rented peasantry will generate in abundance. According to their latest political thesis, adopted at Allahabad, the Socialists are pledged to alter both the apparatus of production and the property rights in it. To provide for additional employment for the country's millions and at the same time improve the existing production apparatus, the Socialists urge that the capital outlay for every added job should be significant enough to raise efficiency and production "but not so high as to create insurmountable difficulties of employment." For this, a studied development in technology is advocated.

But the attitude to be adopted towards the Congress Party on the Right and the Communists on the Left has been a problem for the Socialists. Six months ago, the party was threatened with a serious internal crisis when a section of its leadership suggested "demarcation of areas of agreement" with other democratic forces in the country, including the ruling Congress Party, in the interests of defending the "pluralist" set-up and hastening the economic progress of the country. A policy commission was then set up to sound the views of the members on the crucial question and evolve a formula agreeable to the majority.

At Allahabad, the report of the commission that the Socialists should not join a coalition government except in the event of a national emergency was unanimously adopted. It was also laid down that the party should seek to consolidate "national and democratic" elements into a single bloc, pitted against both the Congress Party and the Communists. Notwithstanding this

enunciation of policy, the Socialist attitude in practice is not without contradictions. In the Southern State of Travancore-Cochin, where a fresh election will take place in March, the Socialists have entered into a limited alliance with a Communist-dominated Leftist bloc. If, after the poll, the Socialists find themselves in the unenviable position of having to run a coalition with the Communists or drive the State into a constitutional crisis, the problem will crop up again in a more complicated form.

The Communists, on the other hand, have assumed an attitude of sweet reasonableness. In a Rightward swing, they have pledged loyalty to the Indian Constitution, which they had earlier vowed to wreck, and promised to work within its framework, if returned to power. Expressing support of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy of neutrality in the cold war, they have formally demanded India's withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

A brief resumé of Communist policy since the inception of the party in 1934 will reveal the recurring stresses and strains to which it has been subject. Up to 1935, the political line laid down by the Second Congress of the Communist International—known as the Lenin-Roy Thesis—was a Bible to the Communists. According to that thesis, Communists were asked to build up an alternative leadership to that of the Congress Party by forging a united front of the working class, the peasantry and the middle class. During this period, the Communists, therefore, shunned the Congress Party, which was then a broad national front, and as a result isolated themselves from the Indian national movement.

In 1936, the "Popular Front" policy became the vogue and Communists started infiltrating into every organisation. It was during this period that the Socialists tried joint action with them and discovered how fatuous it was to have joined hands with the Communists. (Boring from within, the Communists had captured two provincial units of the Socialists.) At this time, the Communists also joined the Congress Party, from which their representatives were finally expelled in 1946. Hitherto, the Communists had their own trade union and peasant organisations, which were now merged with their non-party counterparts.

During the war, the Communists in India, as elsewhere, took two glaringly self-contradictory attitudes: bitter opposition to the war when the Stalin-Hitler Pact was on and wholehearted support for the war effort after Russia entered the war. Though these sharp twists and turns had cost the party heavily in popularity, because of their organisational strength and their hold on the trade unions and the peasant organisations the Communists managed to keep themselves in fighting trim. Soon after the end of the war and the installation of the interim national government—a coalition of the Congress and the Muslim League parties, headed by Nehru—the Communists were supporting the Government. The pro-Government attitude continued during the months of partition of India and the communal holocaust that followed it.

But this policy was reversed in early 1948, when the Communists, meeting in Calcutta, endorsed the Zhdanov Thesis, which called upon Communists to strike the final blow at capitalism "caught in an ever-deepening crisis." The reformist leader, P. C. Joshi, a personal friend of Nehru, was removed from party secretaryship and in his place came the "Left-deviationist" Ranadive. Then followed a policy of incineration, open violence and skirmishes.

Only in 1950, a few months before the General Election, did the Communists finally give up this policy of open warfare. Though it had led to a dwindling of the party strength, this aggressive policy paid rich dividends during the elections. With a halo of martyrdom the Communists appealed to an electorate accustomed to the worship of anti-British heroes. In the States where they were subjected to severe repression, the Communists fared exceedingly well at the polls and almost became the principal opposition party in the country.

But in the last two years since the elections, the party has been in a state of continuous crisis. Group rivalry, which in some

areas took the shape of acute caste differences, has been in the ascendant. Discipline has slackened and, since those Communists who were elected to legislatures were not parliamentarians, the party could not make much headway as a parliamentary opposition, except in a limited propagandist way. It was, therefore, thought that at Madura the Communists would revert to their past aggressive policy and give up their parliamentary activity.

With an impending US-Pakistan military pact, the foreign policy interests of Soviet Russia will be best served not by antagonising Nehru and driving him into the other camp but by cajoling him and keeping him as friendly as possible towards China and Russia. This consideration weighed heavily with the Communists at Madura, and the British Communist leader, Harry Pollitt, was specially despatched here to impress this aspect of the matter on his Indian counterparts. Secondly, within the party, the Right Wing and Leftist elements were evenly matched and so a compromise between the two became inevitable. The present

General Secretary of the party, Ajoy Ghosh, a born organiser, was a close ally of P. C. Joshi, who was earlier sent out of the party for being a reformist. In the Politburo, as well as in the Central Committee, both the wings are equally represented.

The last and the most important reason for this "soft" policy of the Communists is a realisation on their part that without recourse to insurrectionary methods, they can gain control of the administration through a "democratic *putsch*," as in Kashmir. The Congress Party is in a state of disintegration and there is no democratic party which can take its place. So power will fall into the Communist lap like an over-ripe plum.

Here is, therefore, a challenge to all democrats in India, whether they belong to the Congress Party or are associated with the Socialists. If, for short-term political ends, they help the Communists they will be not only digging their own graves but also endangering the future of democracy in this part of Asia.

GROUPINGS IN FIJI INDIAN SOCIETY

By Adrian C. Mayer (Canberra)

AT the end of 1952 Fiji had a population of 312,678. Of this number 148,882 were Fiji Indians, over 90% being the descendants of men and women recruited under indenture between 1879 and 1916 for the Colony's sugar industry. These latter came from many different areas of their country and from many castes and sections of society. They brought corresponding variations of custom and background. The conditions of their early settlement in Fiji were very different from the way of life in India. Initially, everyone had the same occupation—work in the sugar cane plantations; again, the people were housed in barracks, rather than in the traditional type of village, and later also formed a new kind of settlement pattern; finally, few immigrants had families with them, or were related to each other, and that most important of bonds, the kinship tie, was largely absent.

Since 1879, Indian society in Fiji has segmented according to a variety of principles, some of them coming from the Indian background, others attributable to conditions of the Fiji environment. At first, cultural and caste groups were most significant. The former resulted from the different religious and regional affiliations of the immigrants. Four major groups emerged, of which three were Hindu; orthodox people from Northern Hindi-speaking areas (now very approximately numbering 45% of the Indian population), members of the reformed Arya Samaj sect of Northerners (10%), and those from South India (24%). Muslims now number some 14%; the great majority are Northerners and are of the Sunni sect. There are also a few Shia, and a small but influential group of Ahmadiya. Northerners came mostly from the United Provinces, the Southerners stemming from the Tamil and Telegu areas of the former Madras Presidency. Though Hindi is now a *lingua franca*, the other languages have persisted and are taught in some schools; further, different ritual and secular customs exist among the cultural groups, and there is little intermarriage, save between orthodox and Arya Samaj Northerners.

During the past thirty years, subsequent to the abolition of the indenture system, Sikhs and Gujaratis have come to Fiji. The former, who are traders and farmers, and the latter traders and craftsmen, constitute two additional cultural groups which, though they number between them no more than 5% of the Indian population, have considerable economic power through their near-monopoly of the Indian retail trade. In contrast to the members of other cultural groups, most Sikhs and Gujaratis are India-born,

and they maintain close personal as well as cultural contacts with India, where many hope to retire. They form cohesive and well-organised groups.

Missions of various denominations have been working among the Indians, and at present about 2% of the population is Christian. Though their numbers are small, members of this group play a considerable part in the educational and professional life of the community.

Among Indian immigrants to Fiji, all grades of the caste hierarchy were represented, though it is believed that the majority were of the middle castes. However, overt caste distinctions have largely disappeared. The rules pertaining to untouchability and restricted inter-dining were first broken in the cramped, unsegregated quarters of the immigrant ships and labour barracks, while the common tasks of the cane fields dissolved the caste-orientation of occupations. The fact that only 40 women were recruited per 100 men resulted in many temporary and permanent inter-caste unions, which further weakened caste distinctions. Now, with this sex-disproportion righted, it is mainly in the sphere of marriage that Indians regularly prefer to observe caste distinctions. Otherwise, caste may be mentioned or taken into account only in the event of quarrels, when conflicting opinions and interests may be associated with caste differences.

In rural settlements kin ties provide avenues for cooperation and bases of grouping within the cultural groups. About one-third of country homesteads are jointly organised on a kinship basis, the incomes of several adults being pooled, and expenses and policies held in common. Further, the people of several nearby homesteads may be related and thus have obligations for mutual aid in times of trouble, or at such major socio-religious occasions as weddings and funerals. Kin ties only evolved after indenture, since few immigrants were related on arrival. Though there are modes of behaviour between kin which are recognised as "correct," no strong sanctions exist to enforce them. Quarrels may thus result in a breakdown of social relations within a kin-group. But people will tend to cooperate more closely if linked by kinship, especially if they do not live too far from each other, and patterns of kinship and of settlement thus support each other.

Other social groupings have developed in the years after indenture. At the expiration of their terms, Indians were free to

settle on whatever land they could lease from its Fijian owners. Settlements evolved, consisting of scattered homesteads, each standing in its own lease, rather than a nuclear village surrounded by its fields. At first there was high mobility—men moved away to seek other leases or to return to India. But gradually a more fixed pattern of settlement has emerged. In each settlement, and sometimes in different sections of the locality, there is now some feeling of belonging to a common local group. This may not be very strong, or well articulated, but it may be fostered by such associations as a cooperative cane harvesting group, or a committee for school management, and, as noted above, by ties of kinship. There is, as yet, no local administration at the settlement level, and no machinery sanctioning united action on any matter. Cooperation within the area is therefore a question of informal, and individual, decision.

Towns have grown up, usually centred around a sugar mill. In these and the capital, Suva, a class of urban people exists. Though it numbers only about 15% of the total Indian populace it has obvious importance, containing entrepreneurs and traders, transport operators and the managers of other services for the countryside. Though trade tends to be the province of particular cultural groups, other urban occupations are fairly well distributed.

Besides having economic significance, the urban population is distinguished from the rural by its relation to the cultural changes now taking place. The gradual emancipation of women, for example—as teachers, nurses and secretaries—and the influx of new ideas and customs from overseas, occurs primarily in the towns. They are aided by a more intense contact with the cinema and other media of change, by the residence of Fiji Indians who have lived overseas, and by a closer view of other races than is vouchsafed to most of the country dwellers.* Whilst most towns have a population of under 3,000 and are too small to show a definite cleavage of interests and values from those of the countryside, the trend appears to exist. It can be seen more clearly in Suva, where a definitely urban group has evolved, with little apparent contact or interest in the country.

Differences between rich and poor have developed. These express themselves to some extent outwardly—in better clothes, larger houses, in overseas education and ownership of cars—though there is no great compulsion towards the display of wealth outside a few socio-religious occasions such as marriages. Many of the richer men are businessmen in the town, and some are farmers who have accumulated some capital and now add to it through

* In general, there is little merging of the system of Indian groupings with those of other races. There is practically no inter-marriage, and an economic division between the cane- and rice-farming Indians, and the copra producing and subsistence farming Fijians separates the rural peoples territorially. Only in the towns is there much contact in common cultural and occupational activities. This subject is outside the topic of this short article, however.

moneylending and the purchase of available freehold land. There are few large landholders because little available land exists—85% of land being held as inalienable by Fijians or the Crown and being merely leased to Indians. This has prevented fortunes from emerging through a system of sub-tenancies, and money is acquired more by commercial ventures and interest on loans. These loans may have a relation to land, nevertheless, being sometimes made for the payment of high prices for freehold land or premia for good leases. It would be hard, as yet, to see any rigid and exclusive class system based on wealth in Fiji. But such a division may be on the way as fortunes are consolidated and inter-marriage cements the members of such a group.

A considerable number of trade unions have developed in the last 15 years, there being 28 in 1951. Some of these were entirely Indian—the half-dozen cane growers' unions, the union exclusively for Indian teachers, the taxi drivers' union. Others, like the unions of mill workers and Public Works employees, provide some of the few examples of inter-racial organisation. Lastly, there are a few unions in which Indians do not figure—those of the Fijian teachers and stevedores are examples. Indian philanthropic, religious and educational bodies also exist. Finally, since 1929 Indians have elected their representatives to the Legislative Council, and there are loose clusters of supporters around the rival candidates. These associations are backed by groups of Fiji Indians identifiable with the social segments already described. Thus, a cane growers' union may draw its membership from one cultural group in particular; it is, in addition, an organisation of the rural, not the urban, people and may be strongest in specific districts and settlements. Again, the union of sugar mill workers is an urban organisation, and that of the teachers contains the more educated and Westernised people of all cultural groups.

Associations may be inter-connected through their support of the same leader. Thus, a cane growers' union will support a specific leader, who may be its executive, in his political campaigns; this man may also, at the time, be on the managing board of a philanthropic institution, whose members will also support him. One can thus link several associations at a given moment as parts of a single, complex faction in the life of the entire Fiji Indian community; and these links may sometimes bring together elements of cultural and occupational diversity. In this wide political sphere there can be no definite division into the aforementioned groupings of Fiji Indian society, but only an analysis of a shifting pattern of alliances between members of these different groupings.

The main point to emerge from this description is that Fiji Indian society, however simply organised in early times, now contains an increasingly complex division of groups and interests within which, however, there is considerable individual mobility. This pattern, well known to students of well-established societies, must be borne in mind when speaking about this comparatively new and developing community, and when examining the differential effects of any single policy or external factor.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN MALAYA

By Paul S. Markandan (Singapore)

WHEN the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, Sir Sydney Caine, announced a few months ago that to implement the many recommendations of the "Carr-Saunders Commission" on the University which in the main called for a centralised University at Johore a sum of 145 million Straits dollars would be required, the average Malayan sat up with a jerk and aired some very caustic comments. The brunt of the expenditure would

have to be met by the Governments of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, which of course means more taxes.

To survey the situation as it exists, I visited the University at Singapore, the Technical College, Kuala Lumpur, the College of Agriculture at Serdang (twelve miles from Kuala Lumpur), and the Forest Research Institute, Kepong.

The University of Malaya was founded in 1950 and is made up of the former Raffles College and the King



One of the senior classes in the Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur. The Institution was opened in 1894, and was the first school in the East to introduce the English public school system

Edward the VII College of Medicine. These two Colleges initially consisted of Faculties in Science, Arts, Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy. The maximum enrolment was around five hundred. This was expanded with the establishment of the University to include Departments in Education, Botany, Zoology, and Social Studies. The present enrolment is nearly a thousand, and, according to Sir Sydney, the number is expected to increase to 2,000 by 1960.

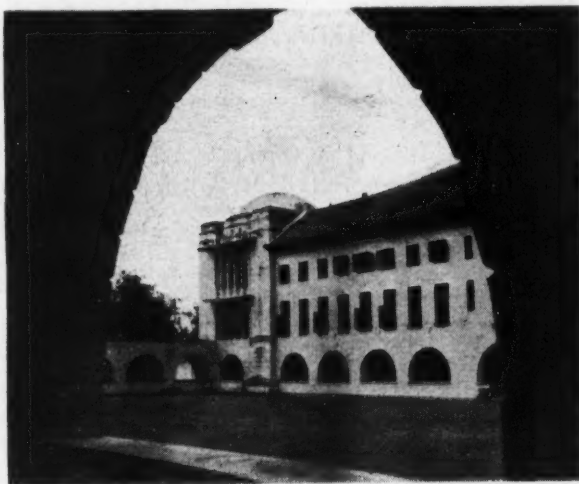
The Technical College in the Federal capital provides four-year courses of study leading to a Diploma in mechanical, electrical engineering, telecommunications and public works. Most of the subordinate technical staff in the various government departments are recruited from the graduates of the College. This could be expanded to meet the requirements of a Faculty of Engineering to provide degree courses.

The College of Agriculture at Serdang, besides training students in Agricultural Science, is the centre of agriculture and farming in the Federation. Research into the future of food production on an improved scale, soil nutrition, and animal husbandry are being carried on at the College. The surroundings are ideal for a Faculty of Agricultural Science. Malaya has abundant agricultural land that remains barren

and overgrown with tropical forests. In many parts native farmers employ very primitive methods in farming. A Faculty of the University established here could send forth its graduates to cultivate the land. To house this Faculty in a centralised University at Johore would not only be a waste of money, but in addition it would lose its present influence over the native farmers.

A University is not built purely of bricks and mortar. Considering the histories of ancient Universities like Oxford and Cambridge, I feel that an institution of higher learning must be the result of gradual expansion in the process of which it acquires more qualified staff, better equipment and turns out better graduates who will not only be qualified in their particular field of study, but men and women who will be civic-minded and who will have the continued interest of the country at heart.

The University of Malaya could do better in paying greater attention to the quality of its graduates. It can be safely said today that more than 80% of the graduates take little or no interest in the country beyond their own little



Chemical Laboratories, University of Malaya

sphere of work and allied surroundings. The country looks towards these graduates to leave the lofty heights of the intellectual world and to show a desire for leadership in trades unions, political parties and in civic bodies which are open to all who claim Malaya as their object of loyalty.

The University has proved its "mettle" on the high standard of its academic work, but it has yet to show that it is producing leaders who will not shirk their responsibilities to the country. It has yet to prove to the average man and woman that it is their University, and that it can provide Extra-Mural Courses of study for the less fortunate.

As long as such a situation exists the authorities would not be justified in spending a huge sum of money at the taxpayers' expense, particularly so when existing facilities in the various colleges, teaching hospitals and the University can be expanded to meet the future needs.

Any
questions
about **MALAYA?**

(FEDERATION OF MALAYA AND THE COLONY OF SINGAPORE)

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"EVOLUTION BY HEAVEN"

By Lewis Gen (Hong Kong)

THE Chinese people, especially the intellectual class, are agnostic rather than theistic or atheistic. They are conscious of the existence of something superhuman, which they call Heaven, and which is loving, just, all-knowing, all-present and all-powerful; yet they hold it impossible to know "his" will and purpose concerning men and nations. However, this does not mean that Heaven keeps far away from men for we are given a conscience, through which Heaven enjoins us to do what is right. Do good, and Heaven will reward you with blessings; as to the evil-doers, they will be punished accordingly. This is the sum of the belief of the Chinese people in general concerning the relations between Heaven and men, which reveals itself clearly throughout the *Shang Shu* and the *Book of Poetry*, the two oldest of the Chinese Classics.

Confucius seldom spoke of Heaven, using it only occasionally for exclamatory purposes. Mencius philosophised more on Heaven, attributing to Heaven what is done without the effort of man. Like Confucius, he enjoins us to practise benevolence and righteousness, leaving the

rest all to the will of Heaven. Mencius went so far as to apply his idea of Heaven to the interpretation of history, for instance, the transfer of the imperial throne during the T'ang-Yu period went by election but from the Hsia Dynasty down it went by hereditary succession, and Mencius attributed this revolutionary change merely to the will of Heaven. He proved it by giving a full account of the general situation created then, he said, entirely by Heaven.

But it was Fang Hsiao Ru, one of the outstanding scholars at the early period of the Ming Dynasty, who set the idea in a masterful manner with only a few hundred words. This was the same who was executed, together with his pupils and his kinsmen to the 9th degree, by the emperor for refusing to draft the proclamation to make the usurper the rightful successor. As this short essay is so forceful and convincing, it is worth while quoting the following paragraphs from it:

"The empire-planners often concern themselves with what is difficult and overlook what is easy; prepare for what is fearful, and leave out what they do not suspect. But troubles often rise out of neglect, and rebellions often spring out of where there is no

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ground for suspicion. Is this because their planning is not thorough enough? It is because calculation can only reach where human prudence should be applied; but what is beyond human intelligence and power is the way of Heaven.

"The Great Emperor of Ch'in, having overthrown the various principdoms and brought the empire under his single control, thought that the powerful princes were the cause of the downfall of the Chow Dynasty; and, therefore, he substituted viceroys for the feudal system. Then he reasoned that he would have no more occasion for employment of arms, and that the throne of the Son of Heaven might be handed down to his son and son's son without end; but he never dreamed that the imperial house would be eventually destroyed by the emperor of Han.

"The Emperor of the Han Dynasty, in view of the downfall of Ch'in through isolation, created a large number of dukes and barons out of his kinsmen, imagining that, being akin to the ruling house, they would remain loyal without change; but he did not foresee that the princes of the seven powerful states would resort to conspiracy of usurpation and regicide. Thus each dynasty founder made preparations in the light of the fall of the preceding dynasty, but each dynasty fell by causes other than what had been prepared against.

"The Great Emperor of Tang, being informed that his offspring would be destroyed by a person named Wu, killed everybody who fell under his suspicion; but he did not realise that it was one of his concubines that attended on him every day. The first Emperor of Sung, perceiving that the powerful regional commanders of the Five Dynasties exercised domination over their sovereign, stripped his lieutenants of all their power, but he failed to see that his descendants would be finally subdued by the hostile neighbouring states.

"All these men possessed extraordinary wisdom and exceeding

ability, and took the chance of survival into full consideration, and made careful preparation against the danger. But while preparation was made here, troubles rose there, and finally they all went to confusion and destruction. Why? Because prudence may be used in dealing with man, but not with Heaven.

"The ancient sages, knowing that the changes of the future world affairs cannot be made perfectly secure through vain imagination, nor that they can be brought under control by artfulness, durst not indulge in selfish craftiness or scheming, but strove to ingratiate themselves into favour with Heaven by building up utmost sincerity and great virtue; so that, Heaven, well pleased with their virtue, protected their children as a mother her newborn infant, and would not abandon them. This is real far-sighted prudence. But, if a ruler, instead of ingratiating himself into favour with Heaven, should try vainly to control the vicissitudes of events by petty schemes, and rest confident that there would be no danger of falling down; this would be absurd to reason and by no means the way of Heaven."

Now let us apply this theory to the main changes of Asia after the Second World War and see how far it fits into facts. As a result of the development of colonialism the whole area was brought under Western domination in less than one century. Although Japan was the first to awaken and kick back, she also joined the scramble for colonies soon after she herself became free. Strictly speaking, nationalist movements did not begin in Asia till the end of the First World War; but in spite of occasional uprisings and frequent talk of freedom and independence, the general features in Asia remained much the same.

It was the result of the Second World War that disclosed the inscrutable will of Heaven. Japan started the war with the hope of conquering the whole of China, but as a result of the adventure, both Korea and Formosa were liberated, and she herself became the object of occupation for several years. For want of arms, the peoples of South-East Asia had to struggle for years in vain; but after the Japanese had overrun the whole area, the Americans, the French, the Dutch and the British were all eager to arm the local population against the invaders. Even the Japanese did much in helping these people to arm themselves; for immediately before the surrender of Japan, they turned over a large part of their arms to the peoples whom they recently conquered. When the war was over, the colonial powers found it hard to take back the arms again; and the result was, the British had to relinquish India and Burma, and the Dutch had to abandon the East Indies after a futile struggle to reconquer them. The strange thing here is that both Japan and the Western colonial powers fought for the possession of these colonial territories, but both unwillingly or unconsciously contributed to their final liberation.

The relations between China and Japan during the past 60 years give another illustration. Shortly after the Meiji Restoration Japan launched the policy of expansion at the expense of China. The first Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the twenty-four Demands, the creation of Manchukuo, and finally the all-out invasion were all successive stages of the same general programme. But who would have thought that Japan would have to abandon all she had

built up in China—railways, factories, military installations, and all kinds of enterprises—the fruit of long exploitation of the toiling Chinese people! What is almost equally instructive is that thousands of Japanese flowed into Manchuria and China Proper at the heels of the Japanese invading army. Many of them just walked in and dispossessed the Chinese people of their livelihood. But at the end of the war they were all stranded in China, and it was with great difficulty that they were finally permitted to go home.

The story of the overseas Chinese may be further cited in support of the theory mentioned earlier. During the last century thousands of poor Chinese went abroad—especially South-East Asia. They either went out as contracted labourers, or were just kidnapped and sold there. But in spite of extreme hardships they survived and prospered there. However, just because of the impotency of their home government, they met with exploitation and differential treatment. Now with the emergence of China as a great Power, most of the overseas Chinese will undoubtedly feel proud to be related to that great ancient nation, whatever form the government may take. Indications already show that these Chinese are becoming daily more nationally conscious and even begin to assert their legitimate rights. We have no doubt that they will be given a fair chance to

live in their adopted countries, and we also hope that they will contribute to the general progress there.

However, many leading statesmen today are still unable to free their minds from the idea of power-politics, as if human destiny were to be determined only by these means. They seem to have forgotten that the survival of a nation depends upon many factors, and the faltering of one of these might lead to decline or fall.

On the other hand, if the traditional Chinese outlook be adopted, our first duties would be the welfare of the people, collectively as well as individually; the cultivation of friendly relations with our neighbours; and what is equally important, the strengthening of world peace. Of course, this does not mean that we should abandon or neglect our national defence, but that it must not be overdone to such an extent as to excite the fear and jealousy of our neighbours, and make it a crushing burden for our own people. For with internal harmony and soundness, and good foreign relations, a country has as much chance for survival as those big Powers who solely depend upon their huge armaments. We have many small but well-governed nations that have survived even better than their big boisterous neighbours. This will prove true again if mankind is not to disappear from the face of the earth as a result of atomic weapons.

REARMAMENT IN JAPAN

By Our Tokyo Correspondent

IN his policy speech at the opening of the current Diet session Prime Minister Yoshida came out into the open by stressing the urgent need to increase Japan's defence forces. This declaration, together with the previous one Mr. Yoshida made a short time ago when touring the southern part of Japan, marks a definite departure from his former stand. Until very recently, the official attitude of the Government of Japan was that of a strict adherence to Article IX of the Constitution by virtue of which the maintenance of armed forces is unconstitutional.

On July 1, 1953, negotiations were started between the Government of Japan and the American Embassy on MSA. Since then, Mr. Yoshida changed horses though until quite recently he tried hard—at times with “tongue-in-cheek” statements—to stick to the wording of the Constitution. These attempts had lately become rather farcical, particularly in view of the widely publicised manœuvres of the National Safety Force. Its units were seen handling brand new heavy military equipment including M24 tanks and 155 mm. howitzers which certainly exceed the requirements of a domestic force, allegedly organised to support the police in case of need. “Never forget war in peace,” said Mr. Yoshida to units of the National Safety Force during a recent inspection.

The turning point came when Vice-President Nixon during his visit in Tokyo, stated on November 19th, 1953, in a public address:

“There are those who say the United States is taking a very inconsistent position about the rearmament of Japan. They might say: in 1946 who was it that insisted that Japan disarm? It wasn't the Japanese, although they were willing to embark on that programme, but it was at the insistence of the United States that Japan disarmed. Now if disarmament was right in 1946, why is it wrong in 1953? And if it was right in 1945 and wrong in 1953, why doesn't the United States admit for once that it made a mistake? And I'm going to do something that I think perhaps ought to be done more by people in public life. I'm going to admit right here that the United States did make a mistake in 1946.”

When Mr. Nixon continued to reassure Japan that American help would always be available for Japan, economic leaders in this country responded with the announcement of their capability to carry out 127 million dollars' worth of armament orders in 1953 and 213 million dollars in 1955. According to the best Japanese traditions an arms production technical investigation team will be sent to the United States from Japan. The 28-member mission is scheduled to depart in the latter part of February. It will be composed of four groups: “Shell Group,” “Bullet Group,” “Gunpowder Group” and “Explosives Group.” The tour will last for three months. Included in the team are experts from Japan's leading arms manufacturers such as Kobe Steel, Komatsu Manufacturing, Sumitomo Steel,

Nihon Steel, Daido Steel, Osaka Metal, Nippei Sangyo, Nihon Fats and Oils, Nihon Chemical, Mitsubishi Chemical and Metallurgical. In selecting the team, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry emphasised the importance of the production of ammunition in view of the present low level of Japan's war industries. The mission will furthermore include technicians of the Ministry and officers of the National Safety Force. All expenses will be defrayed by the Government of Japan. The American authorities, on their part, are reported to be insisting strongly on secrecy and the non-infringement of American patents.

The talks on MSA which Mr. Ikeda, on behalf of the Prime Minister, had during several weeks in Washington drew heavy attacks from the Socialists whose left wing is in principle opposed to any sort of rearmament, as well as from Mr. Shigemitsu's Progressive Party for whom rearmament is not proceeding fast enough.

On October 29th, 1953, the accurate strength of the National Safety Force was given as 104,000. Under the command of the First Staff Office, headed by Lieutenant General Keizo Hakashi, one corps and four regions—the latter the equivalent of a division—are organised. The First Staff Office also maintains nine training schools: staff, infantry, artillery, ordnance, engineer, signal, medical, service and light aviation. The four regions are spread out all over the country in some 60 different camps. One region comprises three ordinary regiments with mortars, bazookas, tanks, jeeps and trucks. One artillery region has 155 mm. and 105 mm. howitzers, engineers and medical battalions, signal, ordnance and others. The total manpower is 15,000, and its fire-power is reported to exceed 10 times that of one division of the Imperial Japanese Army before the war. On the sea, the Force consists at present of 18 patrol frigates and 50 landing craft leased to them by the US during 1953. They are organised into 13 ship divisions for coastal defence. Out of these, six ship divisions were reorganised into the 1st, 2nd and 3rd combined division under the command of Vice-Admiral Kogoro Yamazaki. The major bases of the sea force are now established at Yokosuka, Sasebo, Orinato and Maizuru. Its current man-power is 9,700. An interesting side-light is the fact that the official title of the G.O.C. is Senior Superintendent and that of the naval commander Coastal Superintendent, without any mention of their military capacities.

An examination of the current defence budget as submitted to the present session of the Diet reveals the following:

The total National Safety Force expenditure in the fiscal year 1954 is set at 78,830 million Yen (about 1,000 Yen equal £), or 17,500 million more than 1953. It envisages a total increase of 41,387 in personnel, namely 31,792 men in uniform and 9,596 civilians, 47 vessels (about 40,000 tons) and 258 aircraft. The current air power is practically nil, but Japan expects during the 1954 fiscal year to lease 16 jet planes—10 jet trainers, five Sabre-jets and one all-weather Starfire—from the United States and to start the training of jet pilots. American aircraft expected to be lent

to the Japan Forces including the jets will total 141, mostly trainers, and one submarine killer. Six pilot training schools are scheduled to be opened during the forthcoming fiscal year, and an additional one for aircraft land crews in 1955. Japan herself will build 95 Mentor T 34 trainers and 21 helicopters during the same period in cooperation with the American forces in Japan. Japanese radar personnel will be trained, and the proposed increase of about 7,000 men for the new Japanese Air Force includes some 1,300 radar personnel.

The land force will be increased to 139,000 men, to be organised into six divisions of 12,709 men each plus one independent corps. In addition, units of either regimental or battalion strength of artillery, tank, engineering and anti-aircraft groups will be located in Hokkaido, the northern island of the Japanese island group.

The naval force will increase from 54,000 tons to 93,000 tons; its personnel from 11,000 to approximately 16,000.

About 17 billion Yen worth of weapons and vehicles will be required to equip the new force of 138,700 men. No appropriations have been made for the fiscal year 1954 for these items in the budget. Japan, therefore, expects to obtain the necessary equipment from the United States to the value of about 9 billion Yen. The balance will be covered by funds originally allocated for stockpiling of oil and other materials which were left unused. Roughly the same situation faces the naval and air force units. Japan must therefore depend heavily on the United States for both the supply of equipment and the training of personnel. Regarding the latter, 200 Japanese officers will be trained in the United States during the forthcoming year.

Additional interesting items of the military budget—representing about 13% of the total ordinary budget—are provisions for reservists, pensions for ex-servicemen and the creation of a Staff Council.

At present, the National Safety Force, in addition to its financial dependence on the United States, cooperates also closely with the United States Safety Advisory Group (USSAG) under Major-General G. J. Higgins.

Japan—on the political side—is by no means unified behind the rearmament programme of the Yoshida Government. It is not only the left-wing socialists who violently oppose the revival of militaristic Japan for political reasons, namely, that rearmament is clearly carried out under American pressure. There are still others, among them intellectuals, teachers and students, for whom Hiroshima will remain an eternal memento of the horrible results of Japanese militarism.

There are also apprehensions voiced from outside Japan. Australia and New Zealand as well as the countries of South-East Asia are sure to protest vigorously against Japanese rearmament. Mr. MacMahon Ball, the former Commonwealth member of the Allied Council for Japan, has warned that rearmament will not satisfy the military, economic and social hopes of the Japanese people.

SCANDINAVIA AND ASIA

By Paula Wiking

ALONE of the larger West European powers, the Scandinavian states have never exploited colonial possessions in Asia. It cannot be said that this is due to any superior moral qualities in the Scandinavians, nor altogether for want of trying. Indeed, the Danes, at one period in their history the most powerful of the three, with Norway and Southern Sweden under their sway, did venture as far afield as the south of India, where in 1620, at the small port of Tranquebar, on the Madras coast, they set up a trading station, a factory and a fortress, the remains of which to this day bear its old Danish name of Danborg. But in 1801, during the Napoleonic wars, when Nelson destroyed most of the Danish fleet in home waters and bombarded Copenhagen, the British also seized Tranquebar. It was returned in 1814, but eventually bought by Britain in 1845, together with Danish possessions elsewhere.

The Norwegians, after their early Norse and Viking pirate expeditions, were themselves at the receiving end of Denmark's expansionist ventures.

The Swedes in the 17th and 18th centuries, the period when the basis was being laid by Britain, France, Spain and Portugal for their empires in Asia, turned instead towards the European continent. However, after initial brilliant victories over Poland and Russia, Sweden's hero, Charles XII, was well and truly trounced by Czar Peter the Great. All that remains of what the Swedes themselves call their "age of greatness" is a statue of Charles standing in a Stockholm park, one arm outflung, pointing imperiously eastwards. In the twentieth century, Sweden is known as the power that has not waged war for nearly 140 years.

Under such circumstances it became possible for Scandinavian relations with Asia to develop on a far more friendly and mutually trusting footing than was the case with the Western imperial powers. Up to about the end of the nineteenth century, however, with the exception of Scandinavian missionary expeditions, these contacts were not frequent. But in the past 50 or 60 years there has been a considerable increase in trade, as well as cultural relations of various kinds.

The great Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, who followed the ancient trade routes to the East, is perhaps best known for his geological and anthropological studies in Tibet and China, and for his numerous books on his travels. Less well known outside Sweden, though familiar to international scientific circles, were the late Swedish Professor Bernhard Karlgren, one of the world's greatest sinologists, with an encyclopaedic knowledge of several Chinese languages; Professor J. Gunnar Andersson, the geologist, who became mining consultant to the Chinese Government of 1914, and wrote a number of travel books about China, as well as technical treatises; and Professor Erik T. Nyström, another

brilliant geologist, who in 1902 was head of the science faculty at the University of Taiyuanfu. He helped to found the Sino-Swedish Scientific Research Association there, and he worked for many years in Shansi province as supervisor of road and waterways construction. In 1930, he headed a relief committee to help the Chinese famine victims.

The present King of Sweden, Gustav VI, then Crown Prince, is himself an amateur archaeologist of no mean attainments, and gave his patronage to much of the archaeological research done by Swedes. A Swedish-China Committee formed in Stockholm in the early part of the present century had the Crown Prince as its chairman. From these various sources, Swedish museums were able to build up some fine collections, both of Chinese archaeological specimens and of fossils of Chinese flora and fauna.

Sweden was one of the first countries to recognise the Government of Mao Tse-tung, and thus to form an early link between the West and the new Chinese rulers. In Stockholm there is a large and socially gay and friendly Chinese Embassy.

With India, it is only in the last few decades that the Swedes have made any closer acquaintance, but how great the present interest is may be gauged from the fact that since a year or two ago, a Swedish publisher considers it worth his while to publish, at fairly frequent intervals, a series of translations of novels by Indian authors.

It is hardly surprising that interest in India should have taken a sharp upward turn in all the Scandinavian countries since her emergence as an independent state. The same is true of the other former dependencies in Asia of Britain and the Netherlands. The volume of trade alone has increased enormously since 1938-39. In the peak year of 1951-52—just to give an isolated example—Indian imports from Finland had increased more than elevenfold, while exports to that country went up to seven times the pre-war figure. Trade with the three Scandinavian countries was also greatly multiplied, though not to quite the same extent as with Finland. (The last year, however, has seen a decline paralleling the slight recession in world trade.)

When Mrs. Pandit was India's Ambassador in Moscow, she paid several visits to Stockholm, primarily, no doubt, in the line of duty. But one may perhaps be forgiven for suspecting that, like so many women in the first drab years after the war, she, too, had other motives in visiting that neon-lighted Mecca of the shopper. Nevertheless, the fact is that the Swedes were quite swept off their feet by her wit, grace and charm, and that this did not a little to stimulate their interest in her country as well.

Since the war, a number of Indian dance troupes have made tours in all the Scandinavian countries with enormous

success, some of them repeatedly. Latterly Indian, Chinese and Japanese films have also been shown there for the first time.

Probably by now a quieter and more discriminating appreciation has followed the first fine frenzy of enthusiasm. With the possible exception of the continental and more sophisticated Danes, the Scandinavians have always been a little inclined to go into emotional ecstasies over anything "exotic" or "colourful" or "romantically warm-blooded." Still, smile at it as one may, it is an amiable weakness.

In all these countries, societies of friendship with India have been established since the declaration of independence, and in India itself there is an India-Scandinavia Society, founded in Calcutta towards the end of 1952, whose patron-in-chief is the Minister of Health, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. The general purpose of these societies is the enlargement of cultural, scientific, educational and business relations, and the exchange of student and tourist visits. Only last autumn a group of so-called "community ambassadors" from Sweden visited India, where they enjoyed the hospitality of the Indian League of Pen Friends and other organisations of a like character. The "ambassadors," who included a couple of school-teachers, a lawyer, a Post Office clerk, a civil engineer, a physical training instructor and a student, were a really representative cross-section of the Swedish middle class.

Exhibitions of Indian handicrafts, books and sculpture have been shown in all the northern countries, where they were greatly admired. To the Scandinavians, among whom are numbered some of the world's finest modern architects and sculptors, Indian sculpture in particular, with its extraordinary expressiveness and fluidity of movement, has been a revelation. Beside it, the cold perfection of classic Greece seemed lifeless.

Apart from the interest of the general public, the universities and other institutions of learning have been for years doing important research work into the cultures of Asia. It is surprising to learn that the Royal Library of Copenhagen possesses a collection of no fewer than 1,300 Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which still await study and elucidation. They were originally the property of an Indian scholar living in Germany before the first world war, and were bought for the Danish Library. The Library also possesses some rare Mongolian manuscripts, among them a medical treatise going back to Sanskrit sources by way of the Tibetan, and a Siamese Buddhist text illustrated with Javanese copper-plates.

The university of Oslo (Norway) contains some of the oldest Sanskrit editions in the world. There is a large Indian Institute as part of the University, which also takes pride in its Chair of Sanskrit.

The three universities of Sweden, at Lund, Uppsala and Stockholm, all have small collections of Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil manuscripts, some of them discovered in the Swedish expeditions to Central Asia. The present incumbent of the Chair of Sanskrit at Uppsala University has proposed to the governors that his faculty should be

augmented by inviting from India a Professor of Sanskrit and Indian languages.

The Asian countries, on their side, have benefited from Scandinavian technical and engineering skill. For the first time, a fair number of Indians are studying at Swedish universities, mainly technical subjects. In Norway, a young Indonesian is studying architecture, and to Denmark for training go regular batches of Siamese naval officers. The Siamese Navy was in fact built up largely with the assistance of the Danish Navy, and looks to Copenhagen for the latest technical advances.

Danish relations in Asia have in modern times always been closest with Siam. In cooperation with the Siamese Government, Danish experts are working Siamese mines; a Danish company that holds the licences for all production of Portland cement has its chief centre in Bangkok. Another big Danish company—in fact Denmark's biggest private corporation—with trading, shipping and shipbuilding interests, as well as industrial and plantation property in Malaya, among other places, has branches in practically every important Asian town, from Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, Rangoon, Singapore and Saigon, to Tokyo, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

In Ceylon, which has bought a large number of modern Danish trawlers, there is a whole settlement of Danish ordinary fishermen—as distinct from fishery experts—who went originally to teach modern methods to Singhalese fishermen, and have now made their homes there. To India and Pakistan, Denmark sends agricultural consultants, and students from these countries go to Denmark to study modern dairy and farming methods.

In Norway, a great scheme of technical assistance to India, under United Nations auspices, has been under way for the past two years, namely the Travancore-Cochin fisheries development scheme, which was inaugurated by the Norwegian Government in 1952, and followed up last year by a vast educational campaign about India in Norway. Without unduly disturbing the local methods of fishing in Travancore, which the Norwegians found were based on the tradition and experience of centuries, and excellently suited to the conditions, they gave advice and assistance in the preservation and distribution of the catch, which they found primitive, and the cause of much wastage. The provision of an ice-plant, insulated sheds for storing, insulated vans and motor boats for transportation, together with improvements in sanitation and health, largely by the provision of a clean water supply and drainage, and the establishment of a health centre, are all part of the programme.

Like Sweden, both Denmark and Norway have long since recognised the Peking Government, and both have voted in the United Nations for China's representation there. At the same time they have also supported the Korean war on the UN side, though only with ambulance and hospital services, not with troops. Unlike Sweden, Denmark and Norway are also both members of NATO, hence are being more closely drawn into the American strategic orbit. As an article in a Norwegian Government publication recently pointed out, the US will want to use

the North Norwegian bases for transpolar attacks on the Soviet Union and China, and "today polar strategy dominates the international position of North Norway."

Commercially, the Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) is experimenting with transpolar flights to Japan, via Greenland and Alaska, a route along which it is hoped regular flights may soon be possible.

Some of these activities cannot but be viewed with some alarm by Asians. But there is no doubt that the great majority of the people of all the Scandinavian countries feel a deep sympathy with the emergence of the new Asian nations. The Danes and Norwegians, in particular, whose agony under Nazi occupation is still in fresh memory, know how to value national independence. Nor has there ever,

except when imported by foreign visitors, been in Scandinavia such a thing as racial discrimination or a colour bar. Chinese porcelain and poetry, Indian philosophy and dancing, Japanese painting, and a spontaneous delight in all that is "different" and beautiful—these are the things that matter to the ordinary people. They fervently desire the realisation of the words in which Norway's greatest living poet, Arnulf Overland, greeted the beginnings of Asian independence:

"That Great Britain in 1947 finally relinquished her dominion over India is, for me, the most promising sign that war will never again break out between civilised and democratic states, and that the period of colonial imperialism is over."

SWEDEN'S TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO ASIA

By Sixten Heppling (Svenska Institutet, Stockholm)

THE Swedish people have often been accused of a certain tendency towards isolationism, a leaning towards fencing themselves in behind their frontiers, where they—quite successfully—mind their own business without worrying very much about what is happening in other parts of the world. But in protest against this statement the Swedes can truthfully point out the quite comprehensive humanitarian activities that they have carried on before, during, and after the last world war in neighbour countries and on the continent. That the desire to help is still very much alive was satisfactorily demonstrated in the beginning of 1953 during the catastrophe in the Netherlands. The sums which were then collected voluntarily, spontaneously and in a very short time among the Swedish public were probably greater *per capita* than in any other country on earth. A proportional amount of money in Great Britain would have approximated 10 million pounds.

Today it is a different form of international aid that begins to arouse the interest of the average Swede: technical assistance to economically underdeveloped countries. Until now Sweden's participation in this work has mainly taken place within the framework of the United Nations Organisation and its numerous specialised agencies.

Sweden's economic contributions to the special fund for the UN expanded programme of technical assistance have so far, that is since July 1st, 1950, amounted to in all £480,000. For the current year the sum granted is approximately £175,000, which makes it the seventh largest among the 68 contributions pledged.

Since, like so many others, the Swedish grant is not convertible into hard currency, it has chiefly been used to defray the costs of Swedish services. Soon, one hundred Swedish experts, employed by the international organisations, will have been sent out to less developed areas, and nearly 400 holders of international fellowships and scholarships will have studied in Sweden during the same period. A substantial number of the experts have served in south and south-east Asia. To mention a few examples: an iron and steel engineer has worked in the Philippines for a year. Another metallurgist is in Burma. A secondary schoolmaster is dealing with school questions in Thailand. A demographer has carried out an interesting experiment in birth control in India, a medical social worker is very busy in a training project in Pakistan, and so on.

People from South and South-East Asia have also been a dominating group among the holders of fellowships, and their studies have covered a very wide field: public health and social welfare, industrial management and production, public adminis-

tration, consumers' and producers' cooperation, production and transmission of electricity and other subjects.

The administration of this work has mainly been in the hands of a section of the Swedish Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, which, in the spring of 1952, was entrusted with the task of functioning as the official secretariat for technical assistance matters. But some of the liaison committees of the UN specialised agencies, such as the Swedish FAO-committee, the Unesco-WHO and ILO-committees, have also participated in the work.

Even though the Swedish efforts to cooperate to the fullest possible extent in the international technical assistance programmes have thus been quite considerable, it has long been considered necessary to bring about even greater Swedish contributions to the important work of giving underdeveloped areas assistance to help themselves. Those who were thinking the matter over had a choice between increasing our part of the UN programme or taking up the idea of a bilateral plan for technical assistance. Such a plan would bear the Swedish signature only, but at the same time some form of cooperation with the international bodies would be both appropriate and welcome. But it was also evident that a fundamental condition for success in such an undertaking was that it would have a real significance to the parties at the giving as well as at the receiving end. This is vital if it is to attract the active support and adherence of the whole of the Swedish people. The extremely important work carried out by the United Nations appears to the average Swede as something highly praiseworthy but also as something rather distant, in which he cannot really visualise his share of the responsibility. If, in connection with an increased technical assistance, plans—rather vague, to be sure—to appeal to the generosity of the individual Swede were also to materialise, there could no longer be any doubt that it would be necessary to choose the bilateral form of aid.

When the reasoning had got that far, a special committee was formed and named The Central Committee for Swedish Technical Assistance to Less Developed Areas—the international love for long names is contagious. The committee was composed of representatives of more than 40 of our biggest organisations, such as women and youth groups, the parties on the labour market, agricultural, temperance and adult education organisations, etc. Taken together their membership will cover the entire grown-up population of Sweden.

The tasks of the committee were not only to choose suitable projects for the Swedish effort but also to carry on an educational campaign concerning the problems of the underdeveloped countries

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with a view to creating the favourable public opinion on which the committee would have to build to be able to do a successful job. After long and thorough discussions the committee decided in the spring of 1953 to recommend to the Swedish Government that an offer of Swedish technical assistance should be made to Pakistan.

Pakistan was chosen after the United Nations had been consulted. Even if a purely national effort was foreseen in this case, it would, of course, be necessary to see to it that it would fit into the international pattern of construction programmes.

A short time after the offer was made, Pakistan informed the Swedish authorities of its acceptance. Simultaneously it was indicated that Pakistan would welcome foreign assistance to promote the development of small industry in the country. What form this assistance will take is going to be discussed towards the end of March, when a Swedish delegation will arrive in Karachi. The problem that this delegation, together with the Pakistan authorities, will have to wrestle with is to find a project of such a

character that it is of fundamental importance to the development of the country, lies within the limits that are set by Swedish specialised knowledge and economic possibilities, and has a dramatic appeal so that it can easily be popularised in Sweden. Swedish ideas have rather travelled in the direction of a broadly planned but regionally limited effort, which can catch the interest of various groups in the Swedish society and give them a chance to feel a direct co-responsibility for the success of the undertaking.

What is being planned to take place in Pakistan is, however, by no means the first Swedish bilateral contribution to the significant work of moving knowledge from this part of the world over to the less developed areas. For instance, for nearly two years seven Indonesian students have been the guests of the Swedish state. They are studying at the Royal Institute of Technology in Gothenburg. It is expected that after four more years they will return to their own country with a Swedish civil engineering degree. The students have proved to be extremely clever and are among the best in their respective classes, which is no small achievement, since only the pick of Swedish students are admitted to the institutes of higher learning.

Other efforts channelled through international bodies or with no intermediaries have not been mentioned at all in this context. Probably they will all seem rather small and insignificant in comparison with Swedish technical assistance to Pakistan after it has had time to develop and has acquired full momentum. It is, however, hoped that two goals will be reached. First, together with all that is being done within the framework of the Colombo plan, the American Point-Four programme and the UN programmes, the bilateral Swedish efforts ought to be of some importance to the receiving countries. Secondly, they should contribute to awakening the interest in and feeling of co-responsibility for what is going on outside Sweden's borders and so clear the way for greater contributions in the future.

ASIAN ANNUAL

1954

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Indian Journalists

Political rather than purely social affairs have dominated the Asian scene in London in recent weeks. The key was set by the eve-of-Republic Day luncheon, given by the Indian Journalists' Association, which now seems to be a firmly established feature of the social calendar. This year the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. B. G. Kher, and the British Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, were among the principal speakers.

Sir David commented on the many frequent and valuable contacts between India and Britain during the past year, with special reference to Korea, the meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in Sydney, and the conference of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee in Delhi. The Asian countries, Sir David declared, and in particular he would mention India, had shown that despite the difficulties facing them, especially the adverse movement in their terms of trade as a result of the fall in prices of primary products—their main exports—they were determined to carry their development programmes through. It was most heartening to see that in spite of the ending of the boom and the consequent fall in resources, the Asian countries managed to spend more, not less, last year on economic development compared with the previous year.

Mr. Kher, in a brief speech, said: "It clearly needs a determined effort by all the peoples of the world to bend their energies towards the creation of a better economic and social order in which they can enjoy a better standard of living and enjoy freedom in the true spirit of democracy without distinction of race, colour or class."

Dynamic Neutrality

Another discussion of India's part in world affairs took place at the

February meeting of the Parliamentary Association for World Government, held in the House of Commons. The speaker, Lord Birdwood, said it must be recognised that the world might be living with its present terrible division for generations but added, "In so far as there is any hope, I suggest that Indian leadership is about the only national agency that can attempt to negotiate." He went on to make a challenging qualification to that declaration by asserting that Indian leadership and neutrality would lose its effectiveness unless neutrality meant more than a refusal to agree with either side in a dispute. He used the term "dynamic neutrality" and defined it as being a neutrality which would always serve truth.

Pakistan and Military Aid

One of the thornier problems of Asia at the present time was raised by the High Commissioner for Pakistan, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, in an address to the Imperial Defence College. Stressing that Pakistan stood for stability in Asia with world peace as both her immediate and her ultimate aim, he continued: "There is no ground for presuming that we should ever enter into any arrangement with any power which would in any way endanger our freedom or at all endanger the peace and security of this area. There have been some informal and general conversations between Pakistan and the United States for military equipment to Pakistan in the form of assistance, but that is all. No defence pact is yet contemplated between the United States and Pakistan. Pakistan wants to equip and strengthen its armed forces only for the defence of freedom and does not have any aggressive designs against any countries."

Chinese Drama

A proposal that members of the China Society should translate and produce one of the plays of Yuan China arose at the last meeting of the Society. It was the outcome of a talk by Mr. James Liu on comparisons be-

tween Yuan and Elizabethan English drama. He expressed the view that the fundamental conception of both arts was similar. Both aimed at expressing emotion rather than at creating an illusion of reality. Both had developed conventions which were readily understood by their audiences. Both made use of verse to heighten emotional impact.



Mr. Berkeley Gage, the new British Ambassador to Thailand, leaving London to take up his new appointment

Siamese Dancing

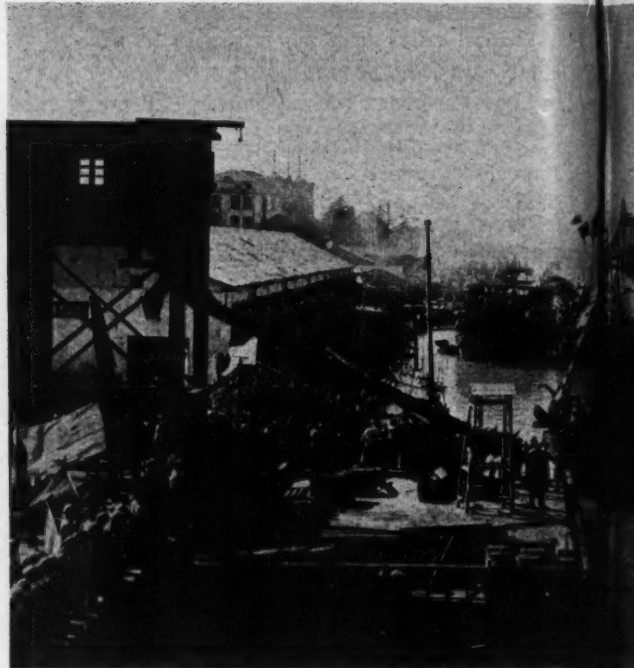
A very large audience attended a lecture on Thai dancing given at London University by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul on the eve of his departure for Bangkok. The lecturer was greatly assisted by two talented Thai girls, Miss Valaya Svasti-Xuto and M.C. Vudhivithu Vudhijaya, who demonstrated female and male steps respectively while he described the significance of the basic steps. As became a scion of the Royal household whose members have always learned classical dancing as an integral part of their education, M.C. Subhadradis Diskul demonstrated a complete mastery of his subject, and a rather more unusual ability to communicate an inkling of that mastery to even the most utterly ignorant.

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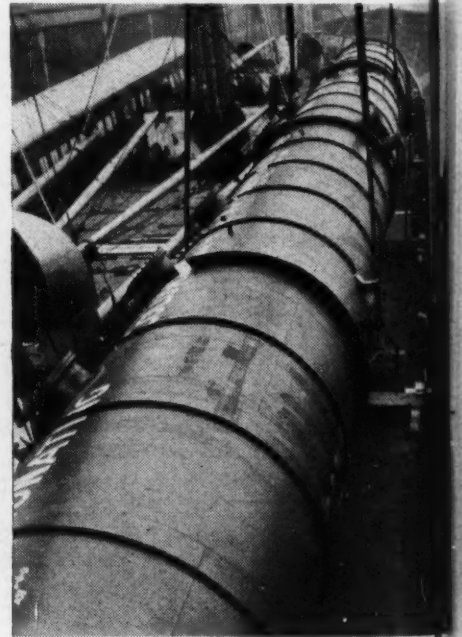
(Above) General Henri Navarre, Commander in Chief in Indo-China. He is the author of the "Navarre Plan" which calls for a two-year operation to gain the initiative and for the building up of the Vietnamese Army to defeat the forces of Ho Chi Minh. Present negotiations in Paris, however, and the forthcoming Geneva Conference next month are increasing the chances for a peaceful settlement (French Embassy picture).

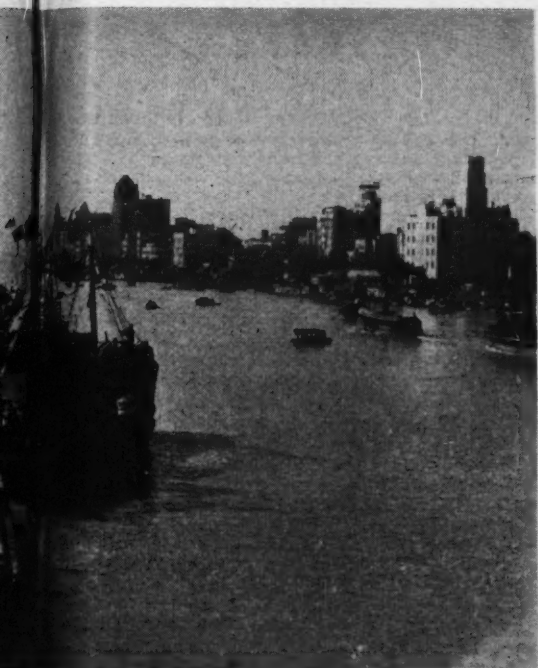


(Above) Four fishing steamers, made by the Kwangtung Maritime Products Company, started their first voyage to sea last December. Picture shows the formal seeing-off celebration at the bank of the Pearl River in Canton. (Below) Last February, a fractionating column weighing 65 tons, with a length of 110 feet and a diameter of 10½ feet, was loaded on board of the s.s. "Jalaketu" (Scindia Line) in the Port of London, and sent on its 6,000 mile voyage to Bombay. The



President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines, visits a Government settlement project for surrendered Communist Huk dissidents at San Ildefonso in Bulacan province. The President is also Minister for National Defence.





is destined for erection as a vital component of the Union unit at Burmah-Shell's new Bombay refinery, to be largest in India (a Shell picture).

(Below) An of the Indian Custodian Forces in Korea, before parking with some of the 88 prisoners who refused to be treated and elected to be taken to a neutral country. The an Forces have now arrived back in India. (Top, right) President Dr. Rajendra Prasad of India received Mr. C. F. Cobbold, Governor of the Bank of England, and Lady Cobbold, during their recent visit to India. (Right) Pakistani children in London took part in a general knowledge competition in the BBC Pakistan Service (a BBC picture).



(Below) Lady Templer visiting an old people's home in Malacca. She is accompanied by Mr. R. A. Sayer, Emergency Administrative Officer of the District.



FROM ALL QUARTERS

Improving India's Tourist Facilities

A number of measures designed to improve tourist traffic in India are shortly to be undertaken by the Government of India. These measures, which include improvement in the standard of hotels and their classification, training of hotel personnel, appointment of proper tourist guides and their training, opening of tourist offices in more cities and provision of facilities to tourists for shikar (hunting) in India, were discussed at a meeting of the Central Tourist Traffic Advisory Committee in New Delhi recently.



Mr. Mogen Lichtenberg, President of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations, at his recent arrival in New Delhi. On his left is Shri S. N. Chibb of the Indian Ministry of Transport

It was informally agreed at the Conference of the Regional Commission for Asia and the Far East, held in Lisbon, that India should be a centre for training hotel personnel. The Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations will now be approached in this matter. Under the proposed scheme the United Nations will bear the cost of equipment, scholarships or stipends of trainees and the cost of their journey, but the host country would have to bear the expenses of administration and of providing accommodation.

A larger number of tourists is believed to have visited India in 1953 than in 1952. Altogether 25,079 came from January to November, 1953. During 1952 the number was 25,448. The maximum number of visitors from any one country during 1953 came from Britain. They numbered 7,089. Tourists from the USA, who came next, numbered 5,666. Earnings in 1952 were about Rs.25 million.

New Tourist Services to Far East

In conjunction with their associated companies, BOAC are providing tourist travel facilities to Burma, Thailand, Japan, Java, Australia and New Zealand. The new services will be operated from the beginning of April. The saving will be approximately 20% of the normal first class fare.

A Constitution for Swat

The Wali of Swat announced last month that he will form a council of 25 advisers, 10 to be nominated by him and 15 to be elected. The Wali will be president of the Council.

The new Government of Swat constitution Act was signed by the Wali in the presence of Kwaja Shababuddin, the Governor,

and Sardar Abdur Rashid, the Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province. The Wali's privy purse, private property rights and privileges have been guaranteed by another agreement.

The new council will advise the Wali on questions of administration, development and legislation.

Swat was formerly part of the tribal territory which lay between the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan. It acceded to Pakistan in 1947. The present ruler is a descendant of the famous Akhund Sahib of Swat.

Japanese Mining in Kowloon

The Hong Kong correspondent of *The British Steelmaker* reports that a five year contract has been signed in Hong Kong between the Mutual Trust Company of Hong Kong and the Nittetsu Mining Company of Japan for the exploitation by the latter of iron ore deposits in the Kowloon peninsula. Machinery and equipment supplied by the Japanese company will enable 120,000 tons of iron ore annually to be extracted and shipped to Japan. The contract will terminate in 1959 because the Mutual Trust Company's mining rights are then due to expire.

Sericulture in Brazil

The *Bulletin of the International Silk Association* (Lyons, France) reports that according to the Acting Japanese Consul-General at Sao Paulo, Mr. Yoshio Saito, two hundred Japanese families will be settling in the State of Sao Paulo during the next three years to take up sericulture there.

Electric Power for East Kazakhstan

Work is now being carried out on a new hydro-electric station at Bukhtarma on the River Irtysh, Eastern Kazakhstan. Last summer a large hydro-electric station was completed near Ust Kamenogorsk on the same river.

The station at Bukhtarma will provide large quantities of cheap electric power which will be used to exploit the rich mineral wealth of the Altai mountains, and will also help in the mechanisation of agriculture in this region. The dam will hold back the flood waters of the Irtysh and will form a reservoir some 300 miles long.

The Kazakh Republic is one of the largest in the Soviet Union and covers an area of over 1 million square miles, stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Chinese frontier. It is an important source of mineral wealth and yields coal, gold, oil, lead, zinc, iron and other metals. It is also an important agricultural region. Several new centres and towns have recently been set up in the Republic.

Lhasa-Peking Telephone Service Opened

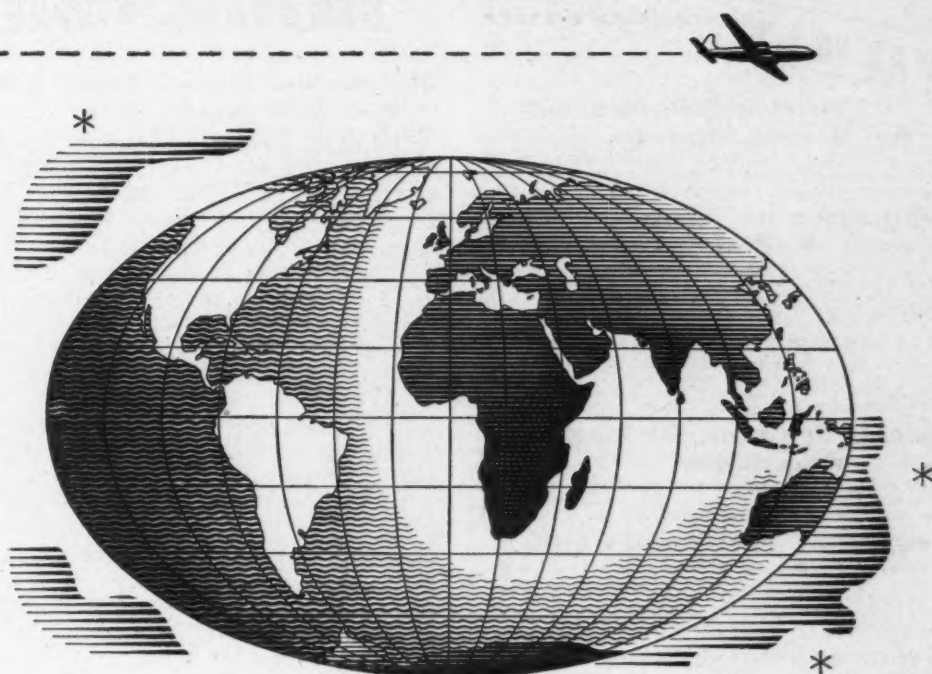
Long distance radio-telephone services between Lhasa, capital city of Tibet, and the cities of Peking and Chungking have been opened by the Chinese Postal and Telecommunications Administration.

Further services will be opened later this year between Lhasa and Lanchow in North-West China, and Lhasa and Changtu and Kantze in South-West China.

Indo-Norwegian Agreement Extended

The Indo-Norwegian Trade Arrangement, which expired on December 31st, 1953, has been extended for a further period of one year. Letters to this effect were signed and exchanged in New Delhi last month by representatives of the two countries.

The arrangement provides for the promotion of Indo-Norwegian trade, which will be governed by the normal import and export regulations.



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BOOKS on the

Americans and Chinese by FRANCIS L. K. HSU (*New York: Henry Schuman, \$6.00.*)

Of all the misunderstandings with which humanity is confronted, perhaps the most serious are those between the Americans and those races which are richer in their past though poorer in their present lot and face a doubtful future. Any effort therefore to reduce the area of misunderstanding deserves wholehearted commendation and one can think of few people better qualified to make the effort than Professor Hsu. He is a Chinese who has become a citizen of the United States and is at the moment Associate Professor of Anthropology at the North-western University.

At the outset Professor Hsu examines the hypothesis that the Chinese have a "situation-centred" way of life in contrast with the "individual-centred" way of life of the Americans. He examines the patterns of conduct of the two peoples, with special reference to sex and aberrant human conduct, the art and the literature of the two countries. Art and literature are the mirrors of life of any country and even in the pornography of America and China one can detect a difference of attitude. That much of China is illiterate does not affect the question greatly as the art of story telling is highly developed and the themes of the story teller are those to be found in all other Chinese literature. The differences in the attitudes of Americans and Chinese to certain fundamental human problems like courtship and sex are a further step towards the wider exposition of the ideas of class, family life, economic success, government and religion that develop in the widely divergent atmospheres. The quest for security of the individual takes different forms and Professor Hsu finds the weaknesses of the Chinese tend to occur in the sphere of American strengths and vice versa.

All this is but a preliminary to a careful analysis of the big question of Chinese Communism and its likely rôle in the world to-day. He finds the true strength of the Communist party has its roots in the drastic reduction in the costs of government and in a militant attitude towards the west. "The Communist triumph is the latest in a long series of Chinese attempts to solve the dilemma created by the country's ancient ills which were added to and aggravated by the impact of the West. The Communist response is more streamlined than the ones which it followed and in its multifold aspects carries with it implications that reach far beyond China, but to the average Chinese it probably does not appear essentially different from anything that preceded it save this—it has thus far succeeded where others failed."

It may seem a far cry from the problems of China to those of America, but Professor Hsu finds in both countries problems that have been caused by the application of external pressure on a society whose internal mechanisms were not fashioned to meet them. "America like China rejoiced in its isolation. . . . The Great Wall psychology was as

FAR EAST

true of America as it was of China. Then, almost without warning, the walls crumbled, the oceans were reduced to ponds." More important than his reference to the views of Americans on the spot of the corruption of the old Nationalist régime in China, as reflected in the Stilwell diary, is his criticism of America's lack of a thorough and consistent policy in Asia and her continued inability to recognise the equality of free Asian nations without mental reservations, the arrogant assumption that the "white fathers" know what is good for backward Asian peoples. "Through her leadership of the anti-Communist cause, the land that first raised the anti-colonial banner 175 years ago is becoming suspect to many of the millions who are today rallying round it." America may not like to be reminded of her own weaknesses, but Professor Hsu has something very valuable to say of the threat inside the country. The fundamental attraction of Communism to Westerners is in "the restoration of a sense of belonging and the provision of a purpose in life." The individual's detachment from the primary groups and the individual centred way of life have forced people in America "to seek emotional security in quests more truly spiritual than anything the Chinese have known." He concludes with a note of warning and a call to America to undertake in her own interest a task which would be essential even if the Soviet Union did not exist. "For until emotional security is assured the individual through the normal channel of the primary groups, most persons will be too self-centred to trust God, too fearful of other men to practise Christian tolerance, and too anxious about their own success to do other than embrace the doctrine that the end justifies any means."

ARGUS

The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders by PHILIP WOODRUFF (*Jonathan Cape, 30s.*)

Six years after the transfer of power in India may seem a bit too soon to attempt an appraisal of the permanent effects of the long connection of England with that sub-continent. The achievement is one without parallel in history—the unification of nearly two million square miles occupied by one-fifth of the inhabitants of the world under an administration evolved by employees of a trading corporation sent from a distance of many thousands of miles. Comparisons with the Roman and Norman occupations of Britain are liable to be misleading particularly because the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent had a cultural tradition of their own which was too strong to be left out of account and it is for posterity alone to discover how much that the English did and brought to India will have made a permanent impression on her life and culture.

Nevertheless we have reached a stage when a restatement of what was done or attempted is of great value. A full chronicle would fill many volumes but Mr. Woodruff, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, sets out to do no more than make a rapid survey of the surface of the mass



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of material that is available "while memory lives." He is forced to cover only a part of the whole story in this volume which takes us to the date of the Mutiny and the taking over by the Crown of the government of India, a change which was one of machinery rather than spirit. He adopts the biographical method of recording his story. He chooses men who are in his opinion representative of the various phases of development and describes their lives, work and opinions and is compelled to leave out many names and events that might have been included. Yet by a process of judicious selection he has contrived in the first part of his story to tell us all about the revolution which gave the East India Company the mastery of India, the transformation of the corrupt Nabobs into a body of men who boasted that "no public service in the world can evince more integrity"; the survey and settlement of the greater part of the country and the outbreak of 1857.

Mr. Woodruff tells the story of the Indian Civil Service in the objective spirit of a historian. He gives due credit to Akbar for his efforts to create a stable system of taxation, a good civil service and conditions in which Hindus and Muslims could live side by side in peace. The greatness of the Emperor was such that when the English were groping in the dark for clues that would lead to the establishment of a good government two hundred years later they were to rely on much that Akbar built and to use it as a foundation.

Nor were signs of an enlightened outlook lacking

among the early heads of the East India Company and an awareness that power was a trust for the benefit of the people. We have Sir Josiah Child suggesting "a form of corporation of the natives mixed with some English free-men. . . . Your people would more willingly and liberally disburse five shillings towards the public good, being taxed by themselves, than sixpence imposed by our despotical power."

In the years to come we find other administrators recognising that the people whom they were called on to govern were in need of protection from their oppressors and looked to the new power from overseas to provide it. Verelst in 1769 directed the supervisors—the future Collectors—in Bengal to convince the Ryot "that you will stand between him and the hand of oppression." The same idea that the first duty of the new rulers of India was to protect the weak against the strong is found in the writings of Hastings, Metcalfe, Munro and others. To several of them it did in fact occur that their dominion of the country must in the long run be distasteful to the inhabitants and that they must at some distant date leave the country when the inhabitants should be in a state to maintain a free or at least a stable government of their own.

The civil service that these administrators developed was in some measure, according to Mr. Woodruff, the product of an unconscious effort by men brought up on the classics of Greece and Rome to translate into reality Plato's dream of a state ruled by guardians, men picked for the task and taught that they were "a separate race from those they ruled, aloof, superior to the ties of marriage or fatherhood, and to the attraction of gold, governing by the light of what they knew to be beautiful and good." It was reiterated time and again that India would be free, but in the meantime she needed guardianship and to give it a corps of men was created and trained for the task. "The East India Company merchants were there to hand; some memory of Akbar's civil service survived: every decision was made by men who had been brought up on Plato."

A rather idealised picture, no doubt, and there is much in the record that suggests that there were lapses from grace even on the part of men who did subconsciously entertain these ideals. Nor was there always the rather self-complacent note that one finds in the writings of those who arrived to be hailed as protectors by the peasantry of the disintegrating, corrupt Mogul Empire. Sir John Shore's attacks on the attitude of many young Englishmen towards Indians and the writings of Hickey show that a healthy spirit of criticism existed in some quarters at least and in later years Metcalfe opposed any legislation that would establish a censorship of the Press which he knew would be impracticable.

To give an account of the events of 1857 without taking sides is particularly difficult but Mr. Woodruff seems to have succeeded in maintaining an attitude of detachment. He does not treat the Mutiny as a national war of independence and in the incidents which started the revolt he sees no more than a panicky outbreak on the part of sepoys

suffering from a sense of injustice and a fear of religious defilement. Having taken the first step and broken open the Meerut jail, they knew they had to go on with the business and could not retrace their steps. No carefully planned rising, he feels, would have started in the one town which had the biggest British garrison in India. In describing the brutal savagery on both sides, the author shows a very understanding mind. Incidentally he gives a full account of the wholesale shooting of prisoners by Cooper of Amritsar which culminated in the discovery that a number of prisoners had been suffocated to death in a horrible re-enactment of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

On balance the author feels there is much to be proud about in the record, though different people will take pride in different aspects of the achievement. Some will glory in the military feats, others in the absence of force used in the day-to-day administration, others in the final act of renunciation. But perhaps nothing was of greater value than the release in India of "some gusts of that dry and bracing wind which swept through Europe after the French Revolution and which in the milder climate of England came to be associated with the name of Jeremy Bentham. It was a spirit which found much to question in India when her own civilisation had ceased to grow. . . . This alien breath provoked new life and indignant reaction: India began to grow again and her mind took on new vigour."

A volume of absorbing interest and one looks forward with eager anticipation to the appearance of the companion volume *The Guardians*.

BERNARD FONSECA

Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549
by WANG YI-T'UNG. *Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies No. IX* (Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 24s.).

The Evolution of a Chinese Novel by RICHARD GREGG IRWIN. *Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies No. X* (Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 32s.).

These two volumes are worthy contributions to an outstanding series. Even when the activities in China of the Institute are so strictly curtailed, it continues to add to our knowledge in a manner both scholarly and readable.

Study IX traces the development of official relations between Japan and China during the Ming dynasty. The main motives and outlines of this important period are clear. Japan wanted the China trade and was prepared to compromise in order to obtain it. Chinese motives were more complex. By putting the considerable illegal trade that was growing up on an official footing she hoped to control it. At the same time, though mindful of the Mongol disasters, she was dominated by the traditional theory of all other nations being technically vassals from whom she should receive tribute and recognition. Such an approach was doomed to failure. The Japanese envoys became very expensive guests and the exchange of presents a drain on the treasury. From the Japanese side, the Chinese system of

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payment did not always please them and in their keenness to do business the Japanese often overstepped the conventions of hospitality. While the Chinese Emperor could deal directly with a Japanese monarch the system might have worked. However, during the period trade fell more and more into the hands of rival wealthy merchant families who found that the old freebooting system paid higher dividends.

The author has drawn largely on documents collected by a Japanese monk, Shuho (1391-1473), in his *Zenrin Kokuho-Ki* and has added to it from other Chinese and Japanese sources. The future historian of Sino-Japanese relations will turn to this study with gratitude for his first chapter dealing with the long development of trade relations which culminated in the Sino-Japanese war.

Study X deals with the beginnings in the same period of another movement equally important at the present day. Until this century the popular novel in China, though read and often anonymously written by scholars, was spurned and ignored as a serious form of literature. It was not until the efforts of men like Dr. Hu Shih and Lu Hsün who were devoted to the ideal of uniting literature to the common language, that they began to be studied seriously and their origins traced. The *Shui-hu-chuan* is one of the five outstanding Chinese novels. Its closest parallel in English is the story of Robin Hood and his Merry Men. Some of its characters have an historical foundation in the Sung period. Naturally the stories connected with this band of benevolent outlaws have grown—especially in the Ming period, the

great era of the novel. The author gives a chapter by chapter resumé of the 120 chapter version he has used. He traces the historical foundations of the many stories it contains and the development of the novel in its present form and discusses the problem of authorship. To read only the bare bones of this action-packed story in the English resumé is to appreciate some of the reasons for its popularity over the centuries. For an understanding of many aspects of China's past such novels are as important as many a classic.

PETER C. SWANN

An Anatomy of Ballet by FERNAU HALL (*Andrew Melrose*, 30s.).

Although primarily concerned with the origins and development of European dancing, this book nevertheless gives a brief but concise account of Indian dancing, together with the achievements of some of the well-known exponents such as Uday Shankar, Krishna Kutty, Menaka and others. He shows how Eastern and Western dancing have each had some influence on the other—and how gradually an appreciation of Indian style and technique has developed among Western, especially English, audiences, enabling both classical and modern Indian ballet to find acceptance. Mr. Hall has made a serious study of Indian dancing and his criticisms can be accepted as being just and well considered.

K. T. P.

The Religion of Man by RABINDRANATH TAGORE (*Allen & Unwin*, 12s. 6d.).

There will be a general welcome for this reprint of a book published over 20 years ago and containing an expansion of the material of the noted poet's Hibbert Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1930. The volume contains the writer's deepest thoughts on human life in its relation to the divine, expressed in English of remarkable beauty.

D. S. P.

The Religion of the Hindus Edited by KENNETH W. MORGAN (*New York: The Ronald Press*, \$5.00).

This authoritative symposium is the work of seven Indians who are all devout Hindus and students of religion. It was conceived during discussions of the National Council of Religion in Higher Education (of America) when the need for a study of the religion of the Hindus written by Hindus themselves was recognised as essential to a proper understanding of the people of India. Western cultural patterns and habits of thought have been so greatly built on the Greek-Hebrew-Christian tradition that many of the misunderstandings between East and West arose from the inevitable tendency of the West to describe and judge the people of India by Western standards. In the interests of a better understanding between East and West it was felt a volume on the lines of this was likely to be of value to many people including officials, businessmen, casual visitors and those concerned with teaching.

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The editor toured India and, after numerous interviews with prominent Hindus, and in the light of recommendations made by these men, invited the seven who have contributed to this book to express their views on the aspects of the subject on which information was most needed. The result is a scholarly volume yet presented in language which the Western layman can easily follow, thanks to the careful editing of Professor Morgan. In different chapters different interpretations of various topics have been allowed to remain to show how far such differences are found in contemporary Hinduism.

Prof. D. S. Sarma of Madras writes the opening chapter on the nature and history of Hinduism. This is followed by an account by Prof. J. N. Banerjee of Calcutta of the Hindu concept of God; chapters on the Hindu concept of the universe by Prof. R. Basak of Calcutta; the rôle of man by Prof. Dandekar of Poona; religious practices by Prof. S. Bhattacharyya of Calcutta; Hindu religious thought by Dr. S. C. Chatterjee of Calcutta and an introduction to the Hindu scriptures by Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras. Notes on prayers, a bibliography and a glossary giving definitions in the form approved by the seven writers complete a valuable effort to explain the oldest of Eastern religions to the West.

D. S. P.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

TO a great many Americans India's attitude towards Russia, China, Communism and world affairs in general is at best misguided, at worst fellow travelling. She is accused of mistrusting American leadership of the "free world," and of being blind to the dangers of adopting a neutralist policy in the cold war. The American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs* (New York), January issue, includes a timely article on the "Middle Ground between America and Russia" which has been written by an Indian who anonymously calls himself "P." It is anybody's guess who "P" is, but he has a very clear and precise knowledge of the official Indian view of world affairs. So much of the article reads like a Nehru speech on foreign policy to the House of the People that the anonymity might conceivably hide the Indian P.M. himself. The article says that the three aspects of policy on which India and the US do not see eye to eye are: (1) the attitude towards the menace of expansionist Communism; (2) colonialism of European nations; and (3) China. The writer then proceeds to give the American view and to answer it with the Indian. He demolishes a number of persistent notions which have become, in the course of time, hard facts in the minds of the American people on the situation in Asia. For instance, about the threat of Communism and how the leaders of South Asian countries do not feel it to be a menace. Given a chance, say the Americans, the Chinese Communists would push south and overrun S.E. Asia. "P" cites the case of Burma which four or five years ago had an enormous internal Communist uprising. All that uprising wanted was leadership and inspiration; two large Chinese Communist armies were on Burma's northern borders; General Li Mi's Nationals were sitting in Burma and harassing the Chinese Communists, which provided the excuse to cross into Burma if the Communists wished it. But because Peking had informed Rangoon that it would respect Burmese sovereignty, the Burmese government has been able to strengthen its position, become a stable government, and, what's more, crush the internal Communist insurrection. That

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makes nonsense of the American theory that Peking looks with constant hungry eyes towards S.E. Asia. The writer challenges American opinion on Tibet, Indo-China and Korea. He finishes this very important article by stating that India has a great deal to gain from cooperation with America and the British Commonwealth, but to "enable that cooperation to become more fruitful and comprehensive each must understand the point of view of the other and tolerate honest differences of opinion, even if they are inconvenient for the time."

What Americans, and indeed many people in the west, often do not understand is that in the S.E. Asian experiment in government the western pattern of parliamentary democracy may lack the dynamism necessary to achieve quick results. Communism—in Asian eyes a further western conception of government—may appear as an alternative. Rupert Emerson in his article "Problems of Representative Government in S.E. Asia" in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (New York), says that although "the policies and actions of the Soviet Union may be regarded as retrograde in the West, to many in S.E. Asia they must appear to offer a proved and dynamic answer to the desire to catch up with the advanced countries." Communism on the Chinese agrarian pattern must be even more attractive. To assume that the sort of government which works well in the west would fit happily into Asian conditions is short-sighted. Mr. Emerson says that it might be acknowledged that western institutions are "an alien importation which, if they are to survive, must adapt themselves to the special needs of the area." He should have added that in the process of adaptation they may become almost unrecognisable to the west.

A comparatively new magazine which has not been mentioned in this column before is *The Guardian*, published in Rangoon. Two copies are to hand, the issue for December, 1953, and the special Independence Number of January, 1954. The managing editor is Maung Maung. It is a very nationalistic journal, with at the same time a sympathetic attitude towards Britain, the Queen and the Commonwealth. Its opinions are forthright, and December's editorial on Li Mi's Chinese Nationalist Army in Burma is scathing. The Americans, particularly Vice-President Nixon, are treated to some harsh words in the editorial. The journal contains a vast amount between its covers, and there is a liberal sprinkling of interesting tit-bits. The Independence issue has an extract from a script of a recent film written by the Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu.

The Burmese Review and *New Times* also produced a special independence issue on January 4th, in which there were special messages from President Ba U and U Nu and greetings from Ambassadors and Charges d'Affaires from all the countries with large diplomatic missions in Rangoon.

THE ROYAL TOUR OF CEYLON

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

ATUMULTUOUS welcome awaits Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh when they step ashore from the Gothic at Colombo Harbour on April 10th for their eleven-day tour of Ceylon.

Colombo harbour and the city will be splendidly decorated for the occasion with gay "pandals," great triumphal arches, festoons of red, white and blue, and splashes of green and gold of the national flag.

As the royal visitors step ashore massed bands will strike up the National Anthem. Then the Queen will be presented with an address of welcome by the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala.

Immediately after the reception at the harbour the Queen and the Duke will drive in state along a gaily decorated seven-mile route in the city.

A helicopter, Ceylon's first, will help the police in controlling the unprecedented crowds expected to throng the route to catch a glimpse of the royal couple.

Highlights of a crowded programme in Colombo will be the ceremonial opening of Parliament on April 12th, a lavish garden party the same evening at "Temple Trees," the Premier's official residence, and a visit to the Festival of Arts where they will watch a display of oriental dancing and music by Ceylon's best artists.



Elephant Pavilion, Polonnaruwa



Kiri Dagoba, Polonnaruwa

But is it on April 14th that the most interesting part of the programme will begin. That day the Queen and her party will leave for a tour of the provinces which will embrace Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Nuwara Eliya and Kandy, and which will give them an opportunity to see the places of interest in the country.

Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, 130 miles away from Colombo, constitute the "Buried Cities" of Ceylon—relics of a 2,500-year-old Buddhist civilisation. Here the Queen will see the stupendous domes of mighty dagobas, some vaster than the Egyptian pyramids, remnants of massive palaces and buildings, giant rock-hewn statues and caves of solid rock, as well as sculptures of supreme beauty, all of which are unmatched works of great architectural significance. Many of these works are in excellent preservation even today and are worthy examples of the skill of the Sinhalese artisan at the peak of his glory.

The "Buried Cities" are not all rock and stone. They are surrounded by parks. In them can be seen birds and armies of monkeys in the tree-tops. In addition, there are the vast tanks, the largest (the Minneri Tank) measuring twenty miles in circumference, whose waters glisten in the sun and reflect the domes of dagobas. These tanks are the remains of a remarkable system of irrigation which provided sufficient water in ancient times to enable Ceylon to produce all the rice she required, and even to export to neighbouring countries. Of especial interest at Anuradhapura is the Ruwanveli Dagoba built by Ceylon's greatest warrior-king, Dutugemunu.

Mihintale, where Buddhism was first introduced to Ceylon, and the Sacred Bo-Tree, both in Anuradhapura, are also on the Queen's programme. The Bo-Tree is the world's oldest historical tree, it being a branch of the Bo-Tree at Gaya under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

Sigiriya, the Queen's next stop, is unlike any other place in the Island. Here one sees a whole city hewn out of stone on a rocky pinnacle 400 feet high. This city was built by the parricide King Kasyapa (A.D. 478-496), who, after killing his father, retired here to escape the wrath of his enraged brother. A flight of steps leads to the top where one finds beautiful rock gardens, bathing pools and stone ramparts. But most interesting are the remnants of a great art gallery where beautiful maidens are drawn on the mirror-polished rock surface. Similar in design and execution to the Ajanta frescoes in India, they are the work of master painters.

From Sigiriya the Queen and the Duke will travel to Nuwara Eliya, reaching it on April 16th. With its temperate climate, its

rushing waterfalls, the highest mountain in Ceylon (Pidurutalagala—8,281 feet), the beautiful lake and unique park Nuwara Eliya is one of the most charming places in Ceylon. The place has many legends, but little history. It is one of the largest tea-growing areas in the country. The Queen will spend three days here and then leave for Kandy on April 18th.

The name Kandy is always associated with the Temple of the Tooth and the yearly Perahera (procession). The former enshrines a Sacred Tooth of the Buddha which is taken out in procession in August each year through the crowded streets of Kandy. The Perahera, whose splendour and pageantry are of ancient origin,



Dagoba and Temple of the Tooth, Kandy

is a feast of colour and light, music and dancing. In addition to the drummers and musicians and the world-famous Kandyan dancers whirling into the rhythmic movements of the ancient dance, nearly a hundred richly caparisoned elephants take part in the procession. As the Queen's visit will take place in April, she will witness a replica of this historic pageant—a special perahera held in her honour.

The Royal visit will coincide with the Sinhalese New Year celebrations, and the Royal visitors will be afforded an opportunity of witnessing the traditional rites associated with this national festival during their tour of the provinces. For it is in the provinces rather than in the towns that this festival is observed with traditional pageantry. It is a time of intense rejoicing when everyone puts on new clothes, when everyday food gives place to rice sweets, oil-cakes and other varieties of the homely confectioner's art, when family reunions take place and the black sheep are pardoned.

On April 20th the Queen will return to Colombo. Next morning she will inspect a special military parade on Galle Face Green and attend an Investiture at Queens' House.

In the evening, after what should prove a memorable 11-day stay in this island, the Queen will leave Ceylon and board the "Gothic" for the last stage of her journey home.

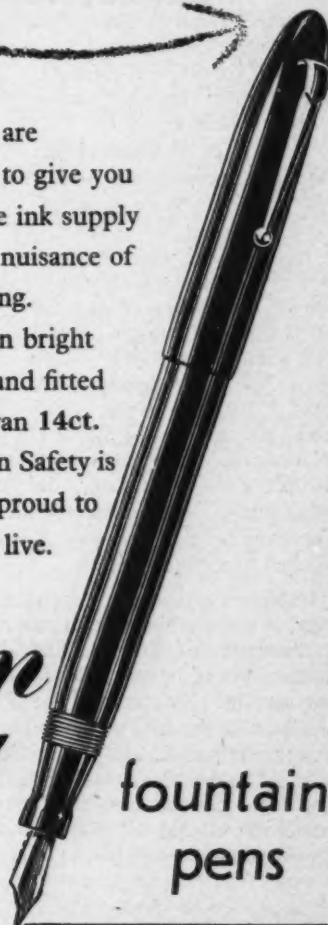
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ASIAN DIPLOMATS IN LONDON

Shunichi Matsumoto

JAPAN, after the years of exclusion from the world scene since her unconditional surrender in 1945, is today making an effective return. Japan's flag flies in foreign ports, her merchandise re-enters world markets, and the reports of her home policies, finance and defence projects are keenly watched abroad—not without disquiet.

Shunichi Matsumoto, Japan's Ambassador to the Court of St. James since 1952, holder of Japan's Order of Sacred Treasures (Second Class), regards the scene with composure and, perhaps, a not unrewarded expectancy.

"Japan must live," he says, "not as a militarist, imperialist country, but as the equal of other nations."

He speaks with the assurance of one who knows where Japan is heading.

Of his 55 years of life, Mr. Matsumoto has devoted thirty to the service of Japan's diplomacy, in the course of which he experienced many of the paradoxical situations that make a mockery of the historians and politicians. Speaking reminiscently only a few days before the signing of the British-Japanese trade agreement last January, he recalled his presence at the League of Nations meeting in Geneva in 1932, when Lord Simon, then British Foreign Minister, defended Japan's invasion of Manchuria. With a smile he indicated his agreement with the then widely held view that no Japanese could have spoken to a better brief.

Now Japan's first Ambassador in London since the war, it amuses him to remember that he was also, at the instance of the British authorities, the first man to be allowed out of Japan in November, 1945. For two months he was held prisoner in the Red Fort, Delhi, to give evidence in the trial of the leaders of the Indian National Army, the anti-British military force organised during the war by Subhas Bose, with Japan's assistance. Except for the two occasions on which he appeared in court, Matsumoto was denied all contact with the Indians. He was subsequently "purged" at General MacArthur's order, and barred from holding any official post. Only after the Japanese Peace Treaty was signed was he "de-purged," and reinstated by Premier Yoshida in the foreign service.



Up to the outbreak of war, Mr. Matsumoto had the normal career of a trained diplomatist. From 1921 on, he was a member of Japan's foreign missions in Brussels, Paris and Geneva, attended many League of Nations meetings and from 1937-40 was Chief of Personnel of the Foreign Office in Tokyo. During the war he held the high position of Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1942-44, and again in

1945. He has been an efficient instrument of Japan's militant diplomacy. Between 1940 and 1944 he had responsible special missions to execute that took him to Manchuria, China, Formosa and Indo-China. But he declares he was always essentially a man of peace; Foreign Office objections were over-ridden by the defence services, which began the war, and could only later, when the sands were running out, once more make themselves heard. With a sensitive response to changes in the world climate, Mr. Matsumoto has sought to make the best of every situation for his country. His compatriots say he is ambitious, and foresee the likelihood that he may yet play an important part in shaping the destiny of

Japan. Two former Japanese Ambassadors in London (before the war) are now respectively the Prime Minister of Japan and the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Matsumoto makes a vital distinction between the Japanese and the Germans: the first have accepted their defeat and the altered circumstances of the world; the second have not. Japan, he says, thinks realistically. She wants to live in peace and seek prosperity, for the present, only through trade and industry.

Japan has at present no territorial claims, apart from a few islands, such as Okinawa, under US jurisdiction, and some near Hokkaido, under Soviet jurisdiction.

The country's most urgent problem at the moment is to find the means to sustain its dense population. Japan must obtain foodstuffs from South Korea and Formosa, and from North China, industrial raw materials, such as coal, iron ore, vegetable oils, and the like. The "natural sphere" of Japan's trade and industrial activities lies in South-East Asia—in India, Burma, Siam and Indonesia, in particular.

However, the effects of the cold war in the Far East, with excessive restrictive practices in most parts of the world, are hampering Japan's economic renaissance. Yet despite the harsh and humiliating conditions imposed by the peace treaty, Japan's outlook on the world, Mr. Matsumoto continues, is very similar to India's. He acknowledges that the Japanese people feel a deep desire to flower into a peace-loving democracy, even though it may not be patterned wholly after Western conceptions.

Towards India, the Japanese people have a warm feeling of gratitude for the strong protest she made against the terms of the peace treaty imposed on Japan. Mr. Matsumoto himself recalls with pleasure his meeting with Subhas Bose on the very day of the latter's landing in Japan, and the friendship that grew up between them in the course of their subsequent meetings and close cooperation.

ASIAN SURVEY

India

Indian suspicions of the United States agreement to give Pakistan military aid have become more deep rooted in recent weeks. Mr. Nehru has continued to voice the Government's opposition to it, and the most recent move is India's request to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to withdraw from Kashmir those American officers serving with the military observer group on the grounds that they can no longer be considered as neutrals. Earlier, Mr. Nehru had rejected the assurances given by President Eisenhower in a letter explaining the United States' reasons for giving military aid to Pakistan. The Prime Minister took the American President to task about his reference to deterring aggression. The US had never condemned the invasion of Kashmir six and a half years ago, he said. And he rejected entirely the American fears of a Chinese invasion of the sub-continent. Mr. Nehru suggested that military aid to Pakistan was a step towards an American attempt to dominate the Asian scene. He rejected the offer of military aid to India by saying that "we would be hypocrites and unprincipled opportunists to accept such aid" after

having objected to Pakistan's acceptance of it.

There has been much analysing of the results of the recent elections in PEPSU and Travancore-Cochin. In PEPSU the Congress party won an adequate majority, but in the southern state the Communist Party won about two-thirds of the seats it contested. Many believe the results to show a trend towards the left wing, but they seem to indicate a move away from the immobility of Congress towards a more progressive outlook.

Japan

Earlier this month the agreement of mutual defence between Japan and the United States was signed in Tokyo. Three other agreements were also signed covering military and economic aid. It is now possible for Japan to go ahead with her rearmament programme, about which there has been so much argument in the past. The amount of military aid that Japan is to get from America is not specified, but it is certain that enough will be forthcoming for Japan to increase her National Safety Force into a small effective army, build planes, and increase the tonnage of her military shipping. A week or so before the agreements were signed it was announced that a Japanese aircraft company is to begin building Lockheed jet fighter planes. In a statement, the manufacturing company said that the acquisition by Japan of the latest technical jet production developments will per-

The Japanese have always had a reputation for reticence, and the special circumstances of a Japanese Ambassador in the West are calculated to increase it. Yet the man in him is often unexpectedly candid. One asks whether he thinks the anti-imperialist struggle is making progress, and he replies in the best Asian tradition that he profoundly hopes so. Does he support the demands for colonial freedom and racial equality? These are most desirable aims, he replies, but unlikely to materialise for centuries. Then suddenly, after ranging for half an hour from cabbages to kings, he observes: "You know, I come from Hiroshima. It is my birthplace. My father was there when the bomb fell. He had a miraculous escape, but there were other members of my family who were killed, and some suffered severely."

mit her "to start production on equal terms with other manufacturers throughout the world."

China

The Peking Government early this month announced its willingness to take part in the forthcoming talks in Geneva on the situation in the Far East.

Voting for local people's congresses has been completed in four provinces and nine industrial cities, including Shanghai, which means 52,000 areas. A high vote was recorded, between 80 and 90 per cent of the electorate having gone to the polls. The elections also provide the means of taking a census, and by the time the elections are over the census will be the most comprehensive in Chinese history.

Burma

Despite the publicised evacuation of Chinese Nationalist troops from north-east Burma some months ago, large numbers still remain and recently they have been particularly active in the southern Shan states. At Wan Mekin, south of Moghsat, around which operations have centred in the past, the Nationalists have opened a "political indoctrination university" in the cause of anti-Communism. The cease fire granted by the Burmese Government to the intruders will expire on March 15th, and large units of the Burmese Army have, for some time, been prepared to carry out a big offensive.

ECONOMIC SECTION

LIFE AND LABOUR IN POST-WAR JAPAN

By Kazuo Okochi (Tokyo)

WITH the reduction of its territory to only half of its pre-war size, Japan's population density has increased by 150% during the post-war period. Even in the pre-war period, Japan had nearly the highest population density in the world, so it is easy to imagine the difficulties this nation has been confronted with under the adverse conditions of occupation policies and the almost complete loss of foreign markets.

In addition, since the new Japanese constitution clarified the democratic rights of the people, and in particular the rights to work and to free association, which the Japanese had hoped for in vain during the eighty years since the Meiji Restoration, it was natural for the people to expect the immediate implementation of these basic human rights.

Nevertheless, in spite of the underdeveloped economy of Japan, the people's struggles to safeguard their rights have proceeded far beyond Japan's economic circumstances. Accordingly, they have developed special "Japanese" characteristics, so to speak, both in their national life and in the post-war labour movement.

As the result of the Trade Union Act and Labour Standards Act, organised workers, especially those in the largest industries, have experienced a remarkable advance in their economic status. However, the improvement of labour conditions applies only to the large-scale industries. In the case of many small businesses, particularly the small workshops and sub-contractors, only low wages and a

The author is Professor of Economics at the University of Tokyo.

complete disregard of the provisions of the Labour Standards Act barely permit them to withstand the competitive pressures of big business and large contracting enterprises. It goes without saying that wages of workers in these small businesses are exceedingly low, and merely provide a bare subsistence. Furthermore, Japanese-labour unions have no positive and direct interest in the workers in small businesses. Their status is economically low, highly unstable, and helplessly isolated.

The majority of workers in Japan are employed in large enterprises—the monopolies of the old "Zaibatsu" or state-owned concerns—and all of them are organised into unions. Though almost non-existent during the war, Japanese trades unions have developed rapidly since the end of the war, and quantitatively at least, have reached a level comparable to other highly industrialised nations. The reason for such a rapid advance lies in the abolition of police control, which suppressed all freedom of thought and collective action.

While the usual case has been that the voice of the working class inevitably becomes louder in a capitalistic society after a long war, it should not be overlooked in the case of Japan that the distress and poverty together with the Occupation's policy of encouraging trades unionism, in addition to the feeling of emancipation arising out of Japan's defeat, had produced a particularly favourable atmosphere for the growth of unions.

With no original experience and training in the spirit of individualism or liberalism, the tendency of Japanese people has been to become easily captured by "toadyism," that is, to submit readily to the powers in control. Formerly the Zaibatsu, the military cliques and the bureaucracy exercised unlimited authority over the people. After the war, the occupation came to hold a similar position, consequently occupation orders and recommendations were welcomed unconditionally, and trade unionism was regarded, in effect, as being authorised by GHQ.

Because labour unions were free from the surveillance of both thought and military police, most people rushed to become union members, and those who did not join were considered to be somewhat heretical. To become a union member insured a degree of job security and to become a union official meant stability of employment and in many

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cases led to promotion. Under the early policy of the Occupation, trades unionism was a "tidal wave" which, however, began to diminish for the first time in the spring of 1949 when inflation was halted in effect and GHQ labour policy began to shift. The atmosphere surrounding trades unionism began to change as a result of the rapid re-emergence of employers' associations.

From June, 1948, to June, 1949, the number of unions and union membership remained about the same, and it appears that union activities suddenly declined after that period. Although existing as labour unions, many organisations were not active. For example, according to a government survey made in 1950, the number of labour unions holding labour agreements with specific effective periods was less than 30% of the total.

If achieving a labour agreement may be regarded as one of the most important functions of labour unions, then the above-mentioned circumstances mean either that labour unions have turned into mutual benefit societies or that unions could not readily reach favourable agreement under the pressure of employers and so became inactive.

At any rate, the decline of trade unionism could no longer be concealed. As the "red purge" revealed, the policy pursued by the Occupation and the Japanese Government, together with close team work on the part of employers' associations, contributed to the successful undermining of the actual gains achieved by labour unions during the inflation, and to breaking the backs of unions by purging them of recalcitrant members. Public opinion also suddenly became critical and indifferent towards unions.

A rapid rise and a rapid decline—this was the destiny of Japanese trades unions. They were forced to change their colouring and their methods as a result of the alteration in the political climate. Among the various factors contributing to this change, the following one must be mentioned: 90% of all labour unions in post-war Japan are "enterprise-wide" unions.

The basic unit or standard labour organisation, in the case of craft or industrial unions, takes the form of a horizontal organisation irrespective of individual plant or enterprise, because workers have found no other organisational weapon in their struggle against management.

Post-war Japanese labour unions, on the contrary, have been organised according to enterprises, or under certain circumstances according to plants or workshops as plant-wide or company-wide unions. This unfortunate form of union is due to the fact that both wage-earners and salaried employees were compelled to set up some kind of organisation rapidly.

On the one hand, they were under the pressure of the confusion and difficulties immediately following the defeat. On the other, with the destruction of the all-productive apparatus, they were confronted with the task of combining the raising of their labour standards along with the reconstruction of their enterprises before they could improve labour conditions. In addition, because uniformity or classification of each particular job has not yet been accomplished, the status of the same job differs considerably from



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enterprise to enterprise and as a result the basis for horizontal organisation was hopeless except in the case of the federation of unions.

Of even greater importance is the fact that Japanese workers have the characteristic of being migratory wage-earners. This has been typical of female workers leaving their rural homes to work in the textile industry, and of second or third sons from the overpopulated rural communities who go away to seek employment in heavy or basic industries. In addition, since the Manchurian Incident of 1931, workers living in the rural communities near giant munition factories became part-farmers and part-industrial wage-earners. In Japanese industrial areas there is no "working population" of the type usually found in western countries, namely workers who have permanently settled down in these areas.

Since it is not possible for open, free and wide labour markets to develop without a basic stable labour population, horizontal labour organisation cannot secure an adequate foothold for its growth. Both male and female workers have always been recruited from rural areas, and after a short period again quickly return there.

Many workers are able to eke out a bare livelihood by constantly sending their daughters and second or third sons to industrial areas as migrants.

Since the supply of wage-earners has always come, not from open labour markets, but directly from among the distressed farmers, Japanese labour markets have thus been controlled entirely by recruiting through friends and relatives or private agents. From this, enterprise-wide unions arise. In reality, Japanese labour unions are suffering from

the problem of how to escape from the restrictions imposed by enterprise-wide unionism.

Alongside these special characteristics of these restricted union organisations, is the fact that all workers qualified to become union members under the Trade Union Act joined unions, including even employees concerned solely with management. Furthermore, full-time union officials were paid by the managements concerned and unions were provided with offices by companies.

Moreover, 60% of the basic union units are organised as so-called "mixed unions," composed of both manual labourers and salaried employees' unions in the fields of general public service, teaching, banking and finance and so on. Unions composed solely of wage-earners are still extremely few (13.9% of all labour unions, June, 1948).

In view of all these abnormal circumstances, it can be seen why, as soon as the political climate becomes unfavourable, as experienced since the spring of 1949, these unions retreat and degenerate into something resembling mutual benefit societies or company-dominated unions or "company unions," because of their inability to pursue adequately even the unions' basic economic struggles.

What is the future of Japan's labour unions? It appears to the writer that the depression which has followed the end of the Korean war has revealed more and more the unions' weaknesses. Yet the large-scale dismissal of workers lies ahead and, in addition, the possibility of raising wages is almost non-existent, in view of the financial conditions of government and private enterprise.

(To be continued)

PLANT PROTECTION IN 1953

By George Ordish

EVERY farmer knows that pests and diseases take a toll of his crops, but the knowledge that much can be done to remedy this position is not as widely distributed as it should be, particularly in South-East Asia and the Far East, where pests take a very large toll of agricultural produce. Nevertheless, the year 1953 saw considerable advances being made in the spread of known methods of plant protection, whilst research into unsolved problems and improvements on existing methods still continue. There are three main methods of controlling pests and diseases—mechanical, biological and chemical.

Mechanical methods are such procedures as extra ploughing, hand picking, not growing a susceptible crop, and so forth. Biological methods are the use of resistant and immune varieties and of parasites and predators, and chemical methods are the use of sprays and dusts. The methods used will depend upon the circumstances of the case. In the Far East it may well be that only mechanical and biological methods are applicable in the first case, and they must be used, though possibly chemicals would, in the long run, give much better results. It might be said today that mechanical methods are the least popular of the three mentioned. Only rarely does one have to avoid a crop because of a pest and excessive working of the land is not beneficial and is not, moreover, a very effective method of insect destruction.

Biological methods are immensely valuable and research on

them continues, but it must always be remembered that this is a long-term problem. Biological methods may in many places replace chemical ones, but today it is in the chemical field that most progress is being made and, in particular, it is with improvements of the methods of application of chemicals, namely, in spraying and dusting machinery. To control an insect pest or protect a crop from disease by this method it is necessary to spread over the land, or the plant, a certain quantity of pesticide. This is usually done by spraying the crop. With field crops 100-200 gallons per acre have been necessary and fruit crops need five or six times as much. This is a large volume of water to shift and it has been overcome, as is well known, by the introduction of low-volume spraying, which is of two kinds, straightforward spraying and air-assisted spraying. Britain has had some ten years' experience of large-scale air-assisted sprayers because it was in 1943 that the "Autoblast" sprayer (manufactured by the Kent Engineering and Foundry Ltd.) first appeared. When it was first used, this machine applied about 400 gallons per acre from a series of nozzle at the rear end and the spray was driven on to the trees by a powerful air blast. An immense saving of labour was effected, but there was little or no saving of water. 1953 has shown that the "Autoblast" sprayer can be used as a low-volume machine and a considerable acreage of orchards in the fruit-growing areas of Britain has been treated with the "Autoblast" at 40 gallons

per acre. Very good control of insects and diseases has been obtained with a considerable saving of pesticide and an immense saving of labour. The advances made in Britain are applicable in many cases to plantation crops in the Far East and Southern Asia. For instance, tea, rubber, sugar, jute and tobacco will all benefit from spraying to control the considerable losses to which they are prone.

On the Continent of Europe fruit growers tend to use even less water per acre and the Mistblowers are popular for this purpose, a well-known one being the Keikens-Dekker. This is a machine which can be easily towed behind a tractor and is much lighter and cheaper than the "Autoblast," but not such a quick worker or so fully automatic. These large machines, however, are not always suitable for small areas of orchard or for certain crops, such as tea, vines and field crops. For these crops the traditional spraying machine is the knapsack sprayer, the machine which has been in use since its introduction around 1885. The invention of the very light two-stroke petrol engine has enabled even the knapsack to be mechanised and to become much more efficient by adopting the Mistblower principle. The use of this type of machine may well be of immense advantage in rubber plantations as it will enable lime sulphur fungicide to be projected into the crown to control the mildew, a source of very great loss of crops. Experiments on these lines are now being conducted in Malaya and are very promising.

It is not everybody who wants to spend £90 on such a machine and the straightforward knapsack sprayer has also been considerably improved, a point of great importance to the small grower in the East. For instance, a light alloy pneumatic knapsack is now available, in which the spray fluid is contained in a plastic inner bag. The air pressure is applied outside the bag from an air

pump attached to the machine, which pump can be detached if necessary. The pneumatic sprayers have been improved recently by incorporation of a pressure reduction valve.

The modern knapsack sprayers can be worked on the battery system, which is very advantageous in some plantation crops such as tea, tobacco or coffee. This battery system is particularly advantageous for the control of blister blight in tea, and it is well known that regular applications of copper fungicide, such as Perenox, overcomes this disease and pays for itself several times over. A hand or a motor pump can be stationed centrally which will suffice to keep twelve knapsacks running almost continuously.

To return to power spraying, the "Autoblast" sprayer does not necessarily render old high-volume sprayers obsolete. It is quite possible to buy a conversion set and convert a standard KEF model to the "Autoblast" principle. The conversion, where the crops are suitable, is well worth while as it means that low-volume spraying can be used.

Experiments in England have shown that good results can be obtained by applying the fungicide lime sulphur as a concentrate (i.e. without dilution with any water at all) by means of the Keikens-Dekker machine, and that this was safer than applying it as a strong solution.

The writer has stressed the advances made by machinery in 1953 because, in his opinion, these are the present limiting factors in the development of better plant protection methods in the East. On the whole, we can say that we have the technical knowledge necessary to control most pests, but we need to spread the knowledge of existing methods and constantly to pay attention to the economic aspects of plant protection so that growers may reap benefit from lower costs and the world continue to be better fed.



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Denmark's Trade with Asia and the Pacific

THE following table shows the development of Denmark's trade with S.-E. Asia, the Far East and the Pacific during the last two years:

	Import		Export	
	1953	1952	1953	1952
(All figures in 1,000 Danish kroner)				
Burma	75	262	9,115	4,108
India	8,349	6,945	19,059	13,497
Pakistan	1,259	633	1,313	3,479
Ceylon	3,166	3,119	2,269	1,483
Thailand	3,994	3,270	21,530	21,293
French Indo-China	510	495	10,376	11,518
Indonesia	8,237	30,588	19,927	17,933
Philippines	7,613	1,848	1,404	1,209
Malaya	9,407	1,941	23,025	30,613
China	14,463	53	2,099	1,190
Japan	26,831	4,957	32,112	11,923
Korea	—	—	2	—
Other British possessions				
in Asia	7,007	5,261	36,292	18,256
Australia	4,060	2,000	7,119	7,976
New Zealand	2,939	4,635	4,327	4,320

This table shows that Denmark's favourable trade balance with India has increased considerably in 1953. During both years Denmark had a favourable trade balance with Burma, Pakistan, Thailand, French Indo-China, Malaya, Japan and Australia. On the other hand, the country had, during both years under review, an unfavourable trade balance with Ceylon and the Philippines. Denmark's trade balance with Indonesia and New Zealand was unfavourable in 1952, but became favourable in 1953, while the country's trade balance with China was favourable in 1952 and unfavourable in 1953.

Sweden's Trade with Asia and the Pacific

THE following table shows the development of Sweden's trade with the main countries of South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific during the last two years. The increase of Sweden's trade with China, particularly of Sweden's imports from China, is the most striking feature of this survey. China now occupies the first place among the suppliers to Sweden of the whole region.

	Import		Export	
	1952	1953	1952	1953
(All figures in 1,000 Swedish kroner)				
Pakistan	14,703	24,143	21,748	23,199
India	30,485	24,325	61,198	65,379
Ceylon	24,036	12,585	5,332	4,063
Burma	1,438	3,005	2,457	3,488
Thailand	1,317	2,603	17,195	18,010
Malaya	85,095	56,402	14,055	12,272
British Borneo	356	198	272	707
Indonesia	21,393	32,888	61,414	54,267
French Indo-China	—	23	3,569	3,284
Philippines	14,127	9,858	4,203	4,644
China	4,260	88,167	3,192	14,206
Formosa	546	363	415	897
Hong Kong	2,501	4,718	13,269	16,995
Japan	106,963	65,431	30,038	59,523
South Korea	—	—	6,721	1,232
Australia	77,854	69,585	131,350	100,657
New Zealand	15,307	9,301	41,459	20,877

We understand that during 1953 CEMENTA, the Swedish Cement Sales Corporation, exported 6,000 tons to Pakistan, 10,194 tons to Indonesia, 1,016 tons to Australia and 1,097 tons to the Philippines.

Norway's Trade with Asia and the Pacific

WHILE the value of Norway's total exports declined from 4,038.6 mill. Kr. in 1952 to 3,633.2 mill. Kr. in 1953, the value of Norway's exports to Asia increased from 157.6 mill. Kr. to 195.1 mill. Kr. during the same period. Norway's exports to the Pacific, however, declined from 91.8 mill. Kr. to 62.4 mill. Kr.

On the other hand, while Norway's total imports increased from 6,239 mill. Kr. in 1952 to 6,514.1 mill. Kr. in 1953, Norway's imports from Asia declined from 196.3 mill. Kr. to 166.3 mill. Kr.

	Imports		Exports	
	1953	1952	1953	1952
(All figures in mill. Norwegian Kroner)				
China	25.9	22.9	6.7	12.5
Philippines	12.5	19.7	1.8	1.7
Indonesia	36.8	19.0	16.8	4.8
Japan	22.2	43.7	19.3	12.8
Korea	—	—	28.1	12.8
Thailand	2.2	2.4	5.8	5.6
Indo-China	0.1	—	1.5	1.4
Burma	2.0	0.2	6.1	6.3
Ceylon	3.2	8.8	4.1	4.4
India	8.3	32.0	53.3	33.6
Pakistan	2.0	3.8	9.2	12.2
Portuguese possessions in				
Asia	2.9	2.6	0.2	0.3
Hong Kong	9.0	1.5	10.0	16.3
Malaya and Singapore	19.2	24.6	9.7	5.0
Other British possessions				
in Asia	0.7	1.8	0.8	0.9
Australia	33.8	17.7	52.9	78.8
New Zealand	1.5	3.5	9.4	12.9
French possessions in				
Pacific	3.4	6.0	—	—



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SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH INDIA

By Per Wijkman (New Delhi)

THE trade relations between Sweden and India have a long tradition. Sweden has been, and still is, looking to India for a range of important commodities like spices, jute, cotton and mica which are imported in return for paper, iron and steel and other Swedish products. Though the trade between the two countries is already running at the level of approximately one hundred million rupees annually, it seems possible that this trade can still be expanded, and during recent years there has been a tendency towards a more diversified exchange of products.

Sweden's main export items to India are paper (of which the value during 1952 amounted to Rs.18,200,000, paper pulp (7,000,000), iron and steel (1,540,000), electric machinery (2,700,000) and other machinery (5,700,000). The Swedish hydro-electric industry manufactures all kinds of electrical machinery of interest for the implementation of the Indian Five-Year programme, and other important engineering products which are exported from

The author is the Swedish Minister in India.

Sweden include ball and roller bearings, industrial and agricultural separators and rock-drilling and diamond drilling equipment. The success of these products on the world market is to a great extent due to the availability of high quality steel, manufactured in steel works of which many date back to the seventeenth century. Among other products from the Swedish hardware and engineering industry are steam and water turbines, machine tools, wood-working machines, paper and pulp mill machinery, tobacco and packaging machines, diesel, petrol and kerosene engines, cars and trucks, buses and tractors, pumps and compressors, printing machinery, textile mill machinery and aircraft. Other products of which special mention may be made are lighting systems for lighthouses, telephone and industry control equipment, typewriters, calculating machines and cash registers. Furthermore, Swedish shipyards have undergone a remarkable development during the last few years. Swedish shipbuilders, who have pioneered in all-welded construction and concentrate on motor ships and tankers, now supply about one-tenth of the world's new tonnage, and three-quarters of the total output is exported. Though most of the shipyards are heavily booked for a considerable time, several builders have recently increased their capacity.

Other well-known Swedish export products are razor blade strips and other cold rolled products and hardware such as hinges, locks, screws, bolts and nuts, pressure stoves and lanterns, handtools, cutlery, knives and surgical

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instruments. Other exports consist of matches, chemicals and other items produced by the cellulose industry. Swedish pharmaceuticals have been specially successful in the export markets.

Swedish imports from India include, of course, the traditional staple products of Asia: spices, tea and coffee (value in 1952 Rs.5,200,000), minerals (Rs.5,700) like manganese and chrome ores, fibres and textile products (Rs.8,000,000) like jute, cotton, coir and hemp, tobacco (Rs.1,300,000). In recent years, Indian handicrafts of various kinds have also been steadily gaining ground in Sweden.

In 1952 Swedish imports from India totalled Sw. Cr.30,301,000 and the export to India Sw. Cr.61,171,000.

The growing importance of the trade relations between Sweden and India is illustrated by the fact that the total trade between the two countries during the first half of the year 1953 remained at approximately the same level as before, though the value of Sweden's foreign trade generally decreased, owing to the recession in the international market. In view of the falling prices, the actual volume of the goods exchanged may safely be estimated to have undergone a considerable increase. In recent years, many personal contacts have also been established in the respective markets through frequent trips by businessmen, who have thus contributed to the strengthening of the commercial relations between Sweden and Asia.

FINLAND'S TRADE WITH ASIA IN 1953

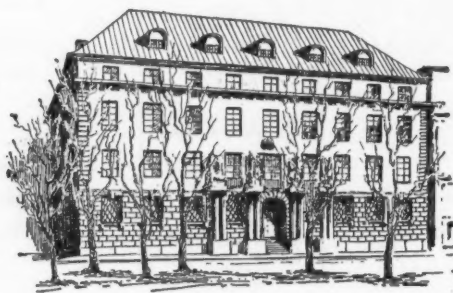
By Aimo Paloluoma

(The Finnish Foreign Trade Association, Helsinki)

FINLAND'S exports to Asia maintained in 1953 the level attained in 1952, although some changes took place as regards the value of Finnish shipments to different countries. China held her position as Finland's most important customer, being followed by India and Japan. These three countries alone bought over 75 per cent of all Finnish products shipped to South-East Asia. Although deliveries to China were somewhat smaller than previously, this loss was amply compensated by increased shipments to India, and especially by those to Japan. Exports to other destinations, taken as a whole, showed a small decrease; this was mainly due to the fact that Indonesia purchased less goods from Finland.

As to Finland's imports from Asia, their value dropped by 38 per cent from the level of 1952. Imports from India, Japan, Pakistan, Indo-China and Burma fell considerably during last year, and this, in turn, was reflected in their smaller shipments of such goods—hitherto their principal

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export items to Finland—as linseed oil, steel, cotton and rice. On the other hand, China, Indonesia and Ceylon were able to increase their exports to Finland, China even many times over. The biggest suppliers were Malaya, Japan and China.

The countries enumerated in the table below are Finland's most important trading partners in South-East Asia. It should be noted, however, that Finland's trade with this market area amounts only to about 2 per cent of her total foreign trade.

(Statistics in million Finnish marks; 646 marks—£1)

Country	Total trade		Finnish exports		Finnish imports	
	1953	1952	1953	1952	1953	1952
China ...	1,607	1,248	1,525	359	63	
Japan ...	1,144	713	287	431	861	
India ...	925	836	757	89	588	
Malaya ...	686	56	56	630	678	
Indonesia ...	370	174	411	196	189	
Ceylon ...	253	152	171	101	62	
Pakistan ...	221	201	260	20	218	
Thailand ...	90	90	94	0	0	
Hong Kong ...	90	90	46	0	1	
Philippines ...	74	67	1	7	44	
Burma ...	36	36	16	0	129	
Indo-China ...	32	23	30	9	129	

As can be seen from the table, Finland's trade was passive only in the case of Malaya and Indonesia.

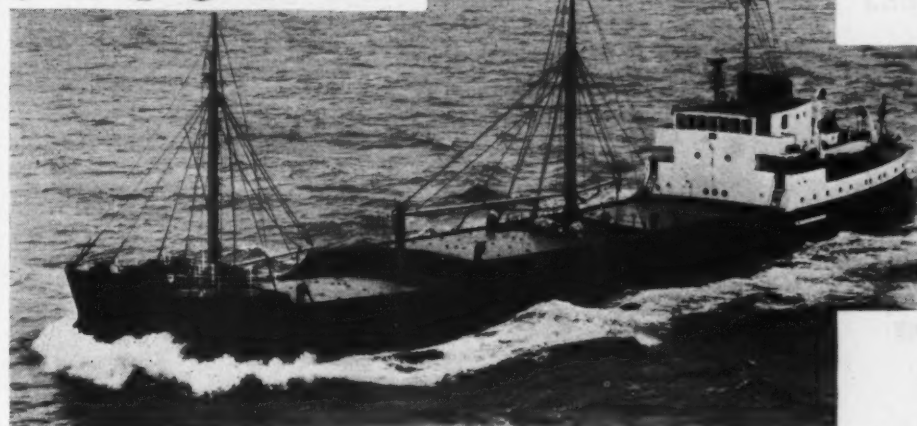
The value of Finnish exports to the countries mentioned in the table amounted to 5.7 million pounds sterling, or exactly double the value of her imports, 2.85 million pounds.

For her export earnings Finland is greatly dependent upon her woodworking industries, and their products represented, by and large, nearly 90 per cent. of the country's total exports. The importance of paper and timber in Finnish exports to Asia is even more pronounced: in 1953 these products constituted 93 per cent. of shipments to that market area, and paper alone accounted for about 84 per cent, whereas its share in Finland's total exports is usually about 40-45 per cent.

According to preliminary figures available, 60,641 metric tons of paper, 28,059 tons of cellulose, 2,388 tons of cardboard, and 975 tons of wallboard were sold last year to the countries mentioned in the above table. Sales of paper and cellulose have increased from the previous year, but shipments of cardboard, and especially those of wallboard, decreased. China bought 7,685 tons of cellulose, and Japan 20,374 tons, of which quantity 8,699 tons were rayon pulp.

Of the total paper exports to Asia, 34,848 tons consisted of newsprint; the biggest buyers were India (17,608 tons), China (7,336 tons), Thailand (2,646 tons), Philippines (2,047 tons), Hong Kong (1,462 tons), and Ceylon (1,257 tons). Shipments of writing and printing paper amounted to 19,193 tons; these deliveries were directed to India (15,716 tons), China (6,353 tons), Indonesia (2,773 tons), Pakistan (2,218 tons), and minor shipments to other countries. The remainder of the 6,600 tons of paper consisted mainly of greaseproof and kraft, with smaller quantities of condenser paper, paper bags, carbon body and cigarette paper, etc.

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China was the largest buyer (4,465 tons) of different kinds of wrapping paper. Paper bags were purchased by Burma, Indo-China and Hong Kong. Pakistan was the most important buyer of cardboard.

Plywood was the biggest item (12,703 cubic metres) amongst the timber products exported to Asia; some quantities of spools, "prefabs," birch square and furniture were also shipped to that destination. India bought the largest quantities (4,891 cubic metres) of plywood, next came Ceylon (4,079 cu.m.), Pakistan (2,785 cu.m.), and Malaya (428 cu.m.). The total value of paper exports was 3,088 million marks (£4.8 million) and that of timber 347 millions.

An interesting tendency in the composition of Finland's post-war exports has been the increasing share of metal industry products. In fact, the value of these exports to Asia increased fivefold during 1953 to 220 million marks, China being now the most important destination. She bought copper sheet, other copper products and electric motors to the total value of 125 million marks. Japan's purchases amounted to the value of 66 million marks and comprised a steel vessel, pig iron (1,100 tons), machinery and kitchen utensils. Other exports of metal products included hunting rifles (Pakistan), locks (Indonesia) and a steel vessel to Hong Kong.

The remainder of Finland's exports (about 30 million marks) consisted mainly of radio and optical instruments to China, the other export items being sanitary ceramics, household china, sports goods, matches, rubber footwear,

potassium chlorate, cartridges, cheese, etc., exported to different countries.

The most important import articles from Asia were rubber (Malaya 4,503 tons, Indonesia 455 tons, Ceylon 71 tons, Indo-China 42 tons), cotton textiles (Japan 227 million marks), soya beans (China 7,476 tons), steel plate (Japan 749 tons) and tea (Ceylon 157 tons, Indonesia 116 tons, India 87 tons, China 21 tons).

During 1953 Finland had trade agreements with four Asian countries, namely, China, India, Indonesia and Japan. According to the trade agreement signed last June with China, valid until the end of February, 1954, it was estimated that Finland's exports to China would amount to 47 million roubles and imports to 42 million, the difference of 5 million roubles to be covered within the framework of the balance resulting from the 1952 tripartite agreement between China, Finland and USSR. Besides soya beans and tea, phosphates, tung-oil, egg yolk, resin, menthol, bristles, cinnamon, rattan, casings, skins, feathers, etc., were bought, partly for re-exportation owing to Finland's own limited requirements for Chinese goods. With Japan Finland has an open-account agreement and her imports comprised in addition to textiles and steel, copper wire and cable, ball and roller bearings, fishing nets, starch, buttons, rattan, flower bulbs, loofah, etc. The trade agreement with India was renewed recently and last year's imports were comprised of tea, spices, coir yarn, vegetable oils, cotton waste, rubber, jute goods, shellac and casings. Negotiations

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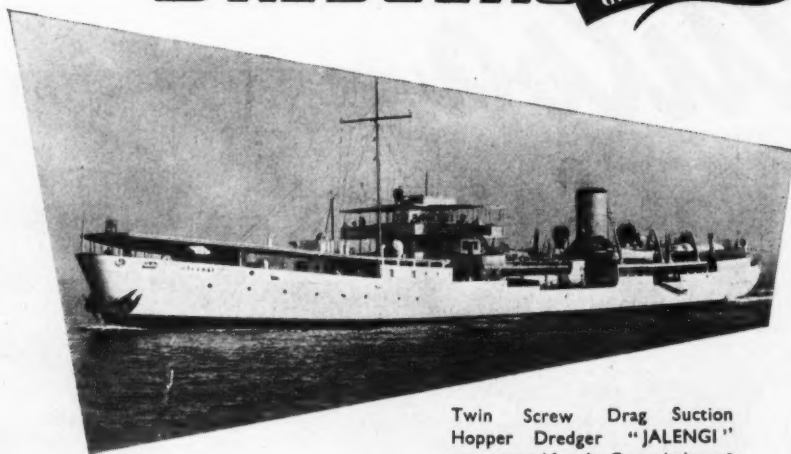
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for a new agreement with Indonesia will be taken up shortly. In addition to the commodities mentioned above, spices, tobacco, rattan, tin, kapok, copal, coffee and hides were bought in 1953 from Indonesia.

Among the other imports from Asia may also be mentioned coconut oil and cocoa beans from Ceylon, tin from Malaya, jute, hides and skins from Pakistan, and rattan and manilla fibre from the Philippines.

It is obvious that Finland could greatly increase her trade with Asia if there were direct and regular shipping services between Finnish and Asian ports. It is likely that during 1954 Finland's purchases from Asia will increase as the country's foreign currency reserves improve.

In the Pacific region Finland's exports to Australia in 1953 amounted to 861 million marks and imports to 705 million. The aggregate value of total trade had thus decreased by one-third. The bulk of the Finnish exports consisted of 8,271 tons of newsprint, 4,941 tons of writing and printing paper, 1,157 tons of kraft, 1,593 tons of greaseproof and other wrapping paper, 266 tons of other paper qualities and 963 tons of cardboard. Sales of newsprint increased from the previous year, as well as deliveries of cellulose, which amounted to 8,962 tons in 1953. Other export items were sawn timber, match splints, turpentine, granite, hunting weapons, cartridges and matches. The principal import goods were wool, 829 tons (1,084 tons in

1952); fat 745 tons, hides and skins, steel plate, lead and zinc.

To New Zealand, Finland sold 1,032 tons of kraft, 222 tons of greaseproof and other paper, matches (50 tons), cartridges, hunting rifles, locks, machines and granite. The import goods comprised: wool, 510 tons; fat, 1,437 tons; casings, hides and skins.

Exports from Finland to New Zealand were only 48 million marks, as against the imports of 307 million. The trade with New Zealand had fallen over 50 per cent from 1952. Finland has no bilateral trade agreement with either Australia or New Zealand.

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Mr. C. Blaker's Review

THE Ordinary Yearly General Meeting of The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation was held on March 5th at the head office, 1, Queen's Road, Central, Hongkong.

Mr. C. Blaker, M.C., E.D., the Chairman, presided, and, in the course of his speech, said: The net profit for the year amounts to \$17,294,235 which is some \$27,000 less than last year. As in previous years, this profit has been arrived at after providing for taxation and after making transfers to inner reserves out of which provision has been made for all known bad and doubtful debts and contingencies. The balance of profit brought forward from last year is \$9,489,174 and the total available for appropriation accordingly amounts to \$26,783,409. In view of the expenditure which has been incurred during the year on new banking premises, it is proposed that a sum of \$4 millions should be appropriated to write down bank premises and, after allowing for this amount and the interim dividend of £2 per share, it is recommended that the final dividend should again be £3 per share leaving a balance of \$9,859,542 to be carried forward to next year. As in the case of other organisations with interests in China, the cost of maintaining our offices there and of complying with the requirements of the Chinese Authorities has been a considerable drain on the year's profits and this and other factors have been taken into consideration by your directors in recommending an unchanged dividend for the past year.

A comparison of the balance sheet with that of the previous year shows that the totals of our assets and liabilities have remained virtually unchanged.

On the liabilities side the amount of Hongkong currency notes in circulation has remained unaltered throughout the year. Current, deposit and other accounts show a relatively small decrease of some \$3 millions and acceptances on behalf of customers a fall of just over \$2 millions. Various factors have contributed to these small decreases which are in general due to the continuation of less active trading conditions.

REASONS FOR DECREASED ADVANCES

The principal change in our assets has been a decrease of just over \$54 millions in advance. This decrease arises mainly as a result of the low prices for primary

products which have continued throughout the year, but it also reflects the general slowing down of trade in the territories in which we operate. This decrease in trade is further demonstrated by a drop of over \$31 millions in our trade bills which, however, is offset by a rise of \$37 millions in our holdings of Government Treasury bills, resulting in the figure for bills receivable in the balance sheet showing a net increase of some \$6 millions. The increase in money at call, in cash in hand, and in balances with other banks reflects the funds which have become available as a result of the repayment of advances during the year. In this connection it is interesting to note that the ratio of the bank's readily realisable assets—that is, cash, money at call, Government Treasury bills, and trade bills—to the total liabilities to customers now stands at a figure of 65 per cent, which indicates a high and very satisfactory degree of liquidity.

Difficult trading conditions have prevailed throughout the year in the territories in which we are interested, and under the circumstances our results can be regarded as satisfactory, but the outlook at present shows little signs of improvement. Your directors therefore feel that they are justified in continuing to pursue a cautious financial policy and that, in the interest of all, their first concern must be the security and strength of the bank.

CONDITIONS IN CHINA

Shareholders will no doubt want to know what is the position with regard to our offices and valuable properties in China and how our foreign personnel are faring. The latter are well and living conditions are reasonably good, but I am sorry to say that we have not yet been able to complete the closure of our offices which, as you know, we have been trying to liquidate for considerably more than a year. Some progress has, however, been made in Peking where we have sold our office building, and also in Swatow, and we hope that our Swatow agent will be repatriated in the near future. As to the main problem, we have made proposals direct to the local authorities working in concert with the other British banks, and Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires has made representations to the Chinese Government on our behalf. In order to get a speedy and overall settlement we have offered concessions involving very considerable sacrifices, but negotiations have proved difficult and progress has been painfully slow. However, so far as we are concerned, the Chinese have nothing to gain by prolonging our complete liquidation and we are therefore hopeful that progress will be accelerated in the near future.

The report and accounts were adopted.

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

The following is an extract from a statement by the Chairman:

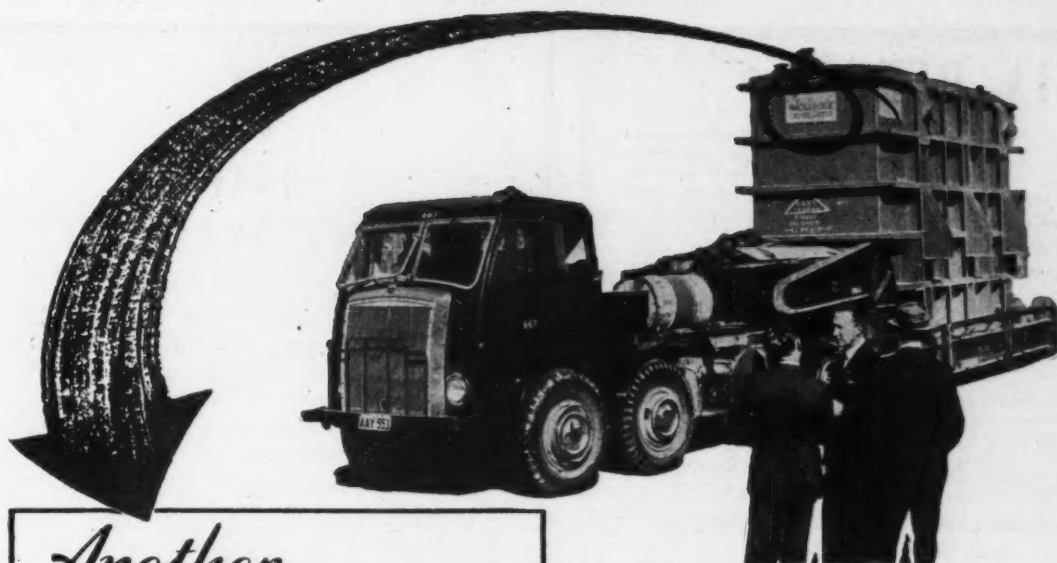
Although Coronation Year did not unfortunately bring with it any noticeable abatement of the world-wide cold war it did eventually see the cessation of open hostilities in Korea and the inception of an optimistic feeling that an improvement of the world political situation would gradually develop as the Korean problem became less menacing. In any case we can fairly claim that British influence in the Far East and in the countries of South-East Asia has gained in prestige. Moreover, although last year trade has again fallen off somewhat, national development programmes have everywhere in the East made progress and the way in which many of the countries in this area have co-operated in the interchange of ideas and of technical assistance will undoubtedly prove to be a matter of considerable importance and give greater cohesion when more stable conditions permit greater economic activity in this uneasy sector of the world.

HONG KONG

Hong Kong has suffered more from the United Nations embargo than any other country in the world. But her trading difficulties are not due to the embargo alone. They have also been caused by restrictions on obtaining certain materials imposed by the United States and by import controls enforced by some of our neighbouring countries. However, most of the difficulties with the United States have now been cleared up thanks to the excellent co-operation of American officials stationed in Hong Kong, and from time to time there has been some relaxation of the controls imposed by our neighbours. But the United Nations' embargo still remains in force.

Last year was a quiet one for the Colony, but it cannot be said that it was a satisfactory one from all points of view, although considering the handicaps imposed by the embargo and other difficulties, things proved better than many expected.

The statement then reviewed in detail the conditions in the territories in which the bank has interests and concluded: Asia is undoubtedly on the move. All the way from Ceylon to Tokyo there is an intense desire for speedy economic progress, as is shown by the development plans which most Asian countries are now attempting to put into effect. Coupled with this there is a widespread realisation that the raising of low standards of living must come as part and parcel of agricultural and industrial development. British merchants and bankers established in the East cannot insulate themselves from these events. They too have a part to play in the further development of Asia.



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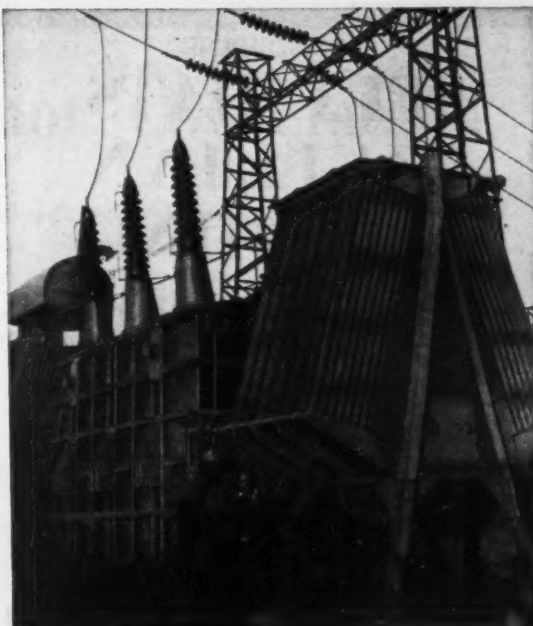
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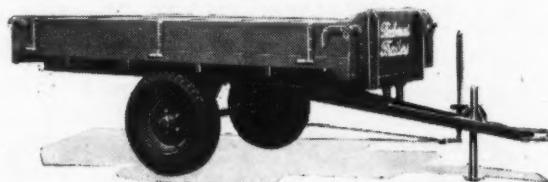
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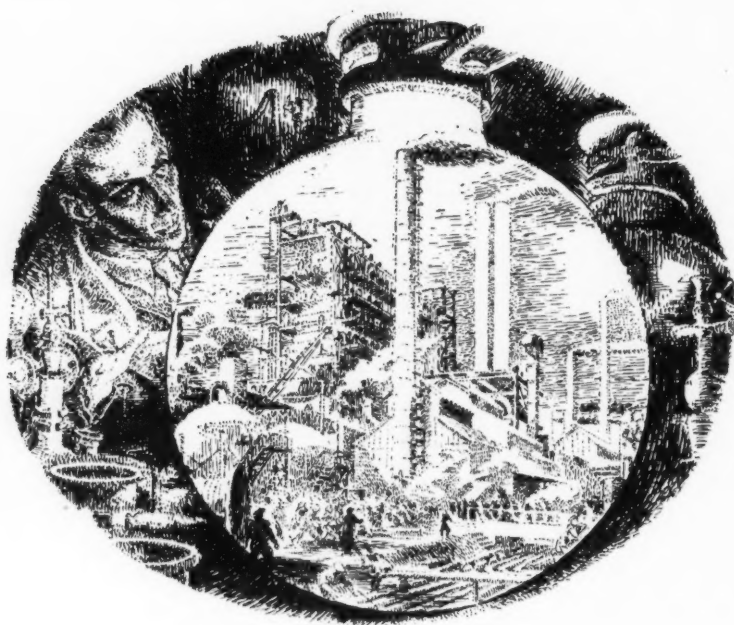
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